00097761

THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BOMBAY
Town Hall, Bombay.

Digitized with financial assistance from
Shri Brihad Bhartiya Samaj
on 20 February, 2020

GOQ
923.242
Sli/Sli/Dia
97761

NN. F. 6.
97761
Ac.

PREFACE.

Sir Henry Slingsby, the writer of the following Diary, was born on the fourteenth of January 1601; but at what place is not now known: the Register of Knaresborough, the Parish in which Scriven is situated, contains no entry of his Christening, and that of Moor-Monkton, in which Red-House stands, does not begin till many years after his death.

Of his lineage, a full account will be found in the Appendix to this volume: it is such as a Genealogist may read with satisfaction, and will gratify all those persons, who feel a pleasure in believing, that eminence of character naturally follows the pure stream of ancient blood: and, had it so happened, that Sir Henry Slingsby was to be spoken of merely as a link in a chain of respectable ancestry, it would have been scarcely possible to avoid feeling, that in such times, a chivalrous and loyal character might have been expected in him: but we find him rather exceeding the high standard of the patriotism of his

day, than falling short of it; and throwing into the shade his unblemished descent, by the lustre of his personal history.

Of this, as is commonly the case, less is to be collected at this distance of time, than will satisfy all our curiosity; but enough remains, taken together with his own account of ten years, to give us more information concerning him than we have received of most of those other heroes, whose names rise mournfully to our recollections of that period.

It appears that he was at school under M^r^ Otby, Parson of Foston in the North Riding of Yorkshire. In January 1618, he was entered a Fellow-Commoner of Queen's College, Cambridge; where he resided till 1621, but there is no record in the College Archives of his ever having taken any degree: and he probably took none, for, in a letter of his father's, in the summer of 1621, mention is made of a journey then about to be undertaken by him to the Continent. From this period untill his marriage, he appears to have spent his time between Yorkshire and London, in which City his father possessed a considerable property*.

On the seventh of July 1631, he married, at

* Family papers.

Kensington Church, Barbara, daughter of Thomas Bellasyse, first Viscount Falconberg; a Lady who seems to have been as pious, as she was naturally amiable. She died in London on the last day of December 1641.

In 1638, he was created Baronet of Nova Scotia. As there has commonly been a confusion of the date of this Baronetcy, with the English Baronetcy created in 1628 in the person of Anthony Slingsby (see Genealogy), the date is here given from the original letters patent now remaining at Scriven, "Apud Striveling secundo die mensis Martij Anno Domini millesimo sexcentesimo trigesimo octavo et anno regni nri decimo tertio": it is worthy of remark that several of the Nova Scotia Baronetcies in English families, were created about this time, probably with the intention of giving them an interest in Scotland, against which the King was now at length compelled to levy an army. Although his Diary takes in the date of his creation, Sir Henry makes no allusion to it.

He sat for Knaresborough in both the Parliaments summoned in 1640: and in 1641 had the magnanimity to be one of those fifty nine members, who voted against the bill for the attainder of the illustrious Strafford, and were posted, on the third of

May 1641, in Old Palace Yard, with the superscription of STRAFFORDIANS.* In 1642 he must have ceased to sit in the Long Parliament, as another name appears in the place of his. There can be little doubt that he was compelled to absent himself, like the rest of the loyal party, by finding that he could no longer perform his legislative duties at Westminster, with safety to his life; and that if he would serve his Majesty, he must serve him elsewhere and in another capacity.

His Diary gives us the history of his life from 1638 to 1648. It is in all respects a document of high interest,—in the additional detail it furnishes of the events of those calamitous years, and the testimony to the faithfulness in the main of the commonly received accounts—in the information it gives as to the manner of life of a Country Gentleman of that day—and in particular, in the estimate it enables us to form of the character of the writer himself.

* Nalson's Collection, vol. ii. pp. 188-9, where he remarks, "This popular revenge however has done this kindness to those gentlemen who durst so boldly adventure the protection of innocence, that it has conveyed their names down to posterity, which in after ages will look upon them with the greater honour and veneration for the indignity put upon them by the rude multitude."

We gather from it on the whole, that he was one of that class of men whose dispositions would lead them to the tranquil employments of a country life; and who are rather fitted for serving the public interest, by filling the stations to which in the common course of things they would be appointed in their counties, than for taking a lead in state policy or in war: but the new kind of circumstances in which he found himself placed by the breaking out of the rebellion, forced him, like the majority of that class in his day, to follow the path of duty in very different courses; and, like them, he addressed himself to his altered condition of life, with an energy and consistency which marked his singleness of purpose: the whole narrative cannot fail to impress the reader with the conviction, that the writer was a sincerely religious man*, and that whatever he did was from very pure and conscientious motives: and with this habit of

* Mr. Noble, in his "Memoirs of the Protectoral House of Cromwell," (vol. ii. p. 394, note,) says, "Sir Henry Slingsby was a loyal Roman-Catholic," &c.: in a writer of so much research as Mr. Noble such a mistake is very extraordinary. It is worthy of remark that Sir Henry Slingsby was named, in August, 1641, one of the persons "for the speedy disarming of *popish recusants* and other dangerous persons" for the North Riding. See Nalson, vol. ii. p. 471.

mind, we cannot be surprised at finding, from his own unguarded relation of the incidents of his life, the same pious feeling and steady principle manifested in his domestic affairs, which carried him with credit through the troubled scene of public calamity.

His degree of learning seems to have been very respectable, and his thoughts are usually expressed, in a manner which shew that he had profited by it: his style, it must be remembered, is the style of the middle of the seventeenth century, a period when there where few, if any, examples of what would now be considered elegant writing, and a Diary is the last place where carefulness of expression is to be looked for.*

The murder of his Sovereign is the last public event noticed in the Diary; and from this time till

* We are further indebted to the Diary, for some notices of a man, of whom little more than his name had come down to us; but that coupled with a character which gives a value to the particulars of his life. Dr. Barwick, in his life of his brother Dean Barwick, p. 339 says, "Mr. Oley, Mr. Thirscross, and Mr. Herbert Thorndike, were some of those great and good men who with incomparable sanctity of life have adorned this worst age, altogether worthy of a better." The accounts which Sir Henry gives of Mr. Thirscross's life, and of his reverence for ecclesiastical authority, are probably not to be found elsewhere: they are very characteristic of that principle with which he and "those great and good men" attempted to oppose the license of that very apostate age.

the fatal imprisonment which ended with his death, we find little to record of him: his estates were sequestered and sold, but were bought in for him by Mr. Stapylton and Mr. Slingsby Bethell, whom he mentions in the "Father's Legacy" as his "friendly trustees;" and he probably passed his time in privacy at Red-house.

In the spring of the year 1654-5, the Earl of Rochester left King Charles II. at Cologne, and passed over to England, in company with Sir Joseph Wagstaff, for the purpose of directing an attempt which the loyal party then meditated for the Restoration. Sir Joseph Wagstaff's rising at Salisbury ended in the death of the gallant Col. Penruddock, and several others. Lord Rochester proceeded to Yorkshire, and, according to Clarendon, damped the spirit of that loyal county, by his want of personal resolution: and because all the gentlemen did not appear whom he had expected, through some misapprehension of the day fixed for meeting, "he took many exceptions; complained, as if they had deceived him; and asked many questions, which were rather reasonable than seasonable, and which would have furnished reasons against entering upon the design, which were not to be urged now when they were to

execute, and when indeed they seemed to have gone too far to retire *."

Of the gentlemen concerned in this plan of a rising in the North, Sir Henry Slingsby was undoubtedly one; and it is very probable that at this time he received, from the hands of Lord Rochester, the commission which he afterwards gave to Waterhouse. In the January following we find him arraigned and sentenced before a major-general and commissioners at York, as one of the *late plotters* †. He was in

* Clarendon, book xiv. vol. iii. part ii. p. 560.

† "Col. Robert Lilburne to Secretary Thurloe.

Sir

We are now upon the business of the late plotters. . . . . We had Sir Henry Slingsby before us to-day and was readie to passe sentence upon him, but that he desired time to make some defence to-morrow, which in justice we could not denie. . . . . Your most humble Servant

Yorke, Jan. 25, 55. R. Lilburne.

"Col. Rob. Lilburne to the protector.

May it please your Highnes,

. . . . . This day we had Sir Hen. Slingsby and Col. Brandling before us, and made good proof against the former; but upon his earnest motion, that time might be given him to make his defence, his sentence is suspended till to-morrow morning.

Your highnesse's most humble servant

Yorke, Jan 25. 55. R. Lilburne.

"This day sentence is passed upon Sir Hen. Slingsby.

26 January, 55."

Thurloe's State Papers, vol. 4. pp. 462. 468.

consequence imprisoned at Hull *; but does not appear to have been a close prisoner until 1657-8.

In January 1657-8 the Marquis of Ormonde made an expedition to England for the same purpose as the Earl of Rochester in 1654-5, with better hopes, though with as little success. It is not difficult to perceive, that at this time the usurper had resolved to make a signal example, of such of the loyal party as he could lay hold upon, in the hope of crushing the reviving spirit of the advisers of the exiled King: the secresy with which Ormonde had entered and left the kingdom, giving him reasonable grounds for thinking

* "Major General Lilburne to the Protector

May it please your Highness

We do here inclosed send you a list of such persons with their qualifications and additions, as have been convened before us and found guilty .... whereupon we have secured their persons (viz.) Sir Henry Slingsby, col. Brandling, Henry Darcy, Walter Strickland, Sutton Oglethorpe, William Frankland, and Capt. John Croft, and Richard Hutton, Esq; being men of quality, in the garrison of Hull ..... Sir Richard Malleverer is fled; the rest of them being of mean quality are secured in the common goal for the County of York, and such of them as have estates are sequestered. We remain

Your highness's most humble Servants,

Robert Lilburne William Goodrick
York, March 14, 55. Chr. Percehay Tho. Bourchier
T. Dickinson Ric. Rymere."

Thurloe's State papers, vol. 4, p. 614.

his enemies increasing in influence and confidence: and whoever will be at the pains to read the depositions referred to at the foot of the page in the appendix, which are too long to be quoted entire, and too important to be quoted in part, in conjunction with the trial itself, and the documents here given, will have probably little doubt that Sir Henry Slingsby fell a victim to a long premeditated plot, by which he was entrapped into conduct, exactly such as it was known his loyalty would lead him to under the circumstances.*

* Major Waterhouse writes to Cromwell from Hull, Feb. 5, 1657-8, enclosing something which he does not specify, and saying that he had "receaved command [from Col. Smith] to proseed, and if posable to untwist the thread of their implacable and divilish design:" and Col. Smith thus writes to Thurloe from Hull, March 19. 1657-8

"Right Honourable

. . . . . Sir I have for some time secured Sir Henry Slingsby in the Castle, being doubtfull that hee might discover something of that busynes, which I have formerly given you an account of; which might cause him to endeavour an escape. Since his being in the Castle he hath endeavoured to engage Captain Overton (whose companye lyes there) in the same treacherous designe, which hath been formerly mentioned; but hath not yet proceded so far with him as hee did with Major Waterhouse. When the busynes is ripe I shall dispose him according to your highness former commands." Thurloe's State Papers, vol. vi. p. 781.

As soon, therefore, as Sir Henry had been induced to confide his life to the pretended loyalty of certain officers of the garrison of Hull, and had delivered a commission to one of them, "the busynes was ripe," and he was conveyed to London to take his trial.

But when all had turned out to the wish of the usurper, and he had ample proofs against Sir Henry, of what would have been treason, if he had been lawful king; still, so little could he rely upon the ordinary course of legal procedure, that he denied Sir Henry, and his two fellow-prisoners, Dr. Hewet and Mr. Mordant, their right of trial by jury, and constituted for the occasion a high court of justice, contrary even to the judgement and advice of Whitelock*.

Before such a court, with Lisle for the president,

* "April 17. 1658. The Protector advised with me about setting up a High Court of Justice, for Trial of the Conspirators now in Prison, but I advised rather to have them proceeded against in the ordinary course of Trials at the Common Law: but his Highness was too much in love with the new way, and thought it to be the more effectual, and would the more terrify the offenders.

27. The Commissioners of the Seal and of the Treasury, the Judges and many others were nominated Commissioners under the Great Seal for the Trial of the present Conspirators against the Protector and Governor [Government]; but I never sat with them, it being against my Judgment." Memorials, p. 673.

one event only of the trial of a loyalist could be expected. Mr. Mordant escaped, partly by powerful interest made for him, partly (it is said) by chance. Clarendon says, "There was not in Cromwell's time the like instance, and scarce any other man escaped the judgement, that was tried before any high court of justice." Dr. Hewet and Sir Henry Slingsby, both had sentence to die. The opinion of the republican General Ludlow, on the trial and sentence of Sir Henry, given below, is a valuable record of the general impression which they made, on the minds of a party very unfriendly to him, and to all loyalty.*

The original sentence on Sir Henry and Dr. Hewet was death by hanging, with the aggravations of the punishment usual in cases of Treason: but we find in

* "Sir Henry Slingsby was called to the bar and the Witnesses on each side being heard he was pronounced guilty, tho' in the opinion of many men he had very hard measure. For it appeared that he was a Prisoner at the time when he was charged to have practised against the Government: that he was a declared Enemy, and therefore by the Laws of War free to make any such Attempt: Besides it was alledged that the Persons whom he was accused to have endeavoured to corrupt, had trapan'd him by their Promises to serve the King in delivering Hull, if he would give them a Commission to act for him, which Commission was an old one that had long lain by him. But all this being not thought sufficient to excuse him he was adjudged to die." Memoirs, vol. i. p. 606.

the "Mercurius Politicus" the subjoined declaration of a commutation of the manner of their death, and a short reprieve; * the only favours that could be gained from the usurper, although they both had the interest of his daughter Mary, and Lord Falconberg her husband, Lord Falconberg being Sir Henry's nephew, and Dr. Hewet, the clergyman who had privately married Lord and Lady Falconberg, after the performance of the civil contract then in use, and whose church Lady Falconberg attended †.

* "June 4. [1658] His Highness being informed, that D^r. Hewet, prisoner in the Tower of London, who stands attainted of High Treason, before the Commissioners appointed by act of Parliament, for levying war against his Highness and the Commonwealth, had judgment to be hanged drawn and quartered at Tiborne this instant Saturday, his Highness was graciously pleased upon humble suit made, to reprieve him till Tuesday the eighth instant, at which time he is to be executed on Tower-hill by severing his head from his body; and his Highness pleasure is that the rest of the judgment shall be remitted. The like favour also was extended to Sir Henry Slingsby, who is to suffer also the same day, in the same place." Mercurius Politicus.

† M^r. Noble contradicts the assertion of Clarendon that, "Cromwell plainly discovered that his son Faulconbridge's heart was set upon an interest destructive to his, and grew to hate him perfectly," and rests his contradiction, mainly, on the fact that "his Lordship accepted this embassy [to France] *after* the decapitation of Sir Henry." (Protectoral House of Cromwell, vol. ii. p. 394.) But however the question of Lord Falconberg's

A short time now remained for Sir Henry to settle his earthly affairs, and prepare himself to leave them;* how it was spent, with what thoughts, and in what frame of mind, may be seen in "A Father's Legacy." In this beautiful tract he makes no mention, as at first sight might have been expected, of receiving any of the offices of religion from any clergyman; and we may suppose that no one, whom he could conscientiously recognise as such, was admitted to him: † but it does not seem too much to say, if it

attachment or disaffection to Cromwell's government, may be decided upon other grounds, this at least cannot be taken to bear out a contradiction of Clarendon's assertion; for it appears that Lord Falconberg *returned* from his Embassy, *before* Sir Henry's death; "June 5. [1658] This evening, arived the most Noble Lord the Lord Fauconbridge, with the Lords and Gentlemen who accompahied him, being safe returned from Paris." Mercurius Politicus.

*. His will is dated, June 4.

† "Wednesday June 2, [1658] By the Commissioners for security of his Highness person,

Ordered that Dr. Reynolds, Mr. Caryl, Mr. Calamy, and Mr. Manton, be desired to repair forthwith unto Sir Henry Slingsby Kt. and John Hewet Doctor of Divinity, now prisoners in the Tower of London, to prepare them for death, to which they are condemned by sentence of this Court, to be executed upon them on Saturday next.

Signed in the name of the said Court
John Phelpes, Clerk of the said Court."
Mercurius Politicus.

may be said of any man, that he had in himself, what made this privation less material to him than to many others in his situation, the answer of a good conscience—a conscience void of offence towards God and towards man.

A relation of his demeanor on the scaffold, and the few words which he spoke there, are given at the end of his trial. It would not perhaps have been so much in keeping with the character of the country gentleman, had he prefaced his death with the sustained effort of an exculpatory speech to the people. That some who came to that place, in the same Cause, had that energy which carried them through long apologies for it, and refutations of the calumnies of the enemy, was doubtless one of the means, by which the eyes of the people were, Providentially, opened to the interests of their country; and such displays came fitly from the Prelate Laud, the Priest Hewet, and the Courtier Strafford; each of whom might be expected, from his education and previous habits, to be both able and willing, to give some account of the principles which had brought him to the point of an ignominious death; but the Country-Gentleman, who had only exchanged the sequestered pursuits of a rural life for the hurry of a

desultory warfare, might be excused for suffering the execution of his illegal sentence, without any further protest than his few words to the sheriff: yet even these contained a sentiment, which, in the report given by his enemies, is suppressed, but which Clarendon has preserved,—and it is one which deserved to be recorded,—that "he was to die for being an honest man, of which he was very glad."

There remain two original paintings of Sir Henry, exactly resembling each other; one at Scriven, the other in the possession of M^r. Talbot of Lacock Abbey, Wilts; whose ancestor Sir John Talbot, married Sir Henry's only daughter Barbara. From that in the possession of M^r. Talbot, an engraving was made by Vertue, for the series of portraits of the loyal sufferers in the rebellion: over the top is written, "S^r. H. Slingsby." at the bottom, "From an Original in Possess^n. of—Talbot Esq^r. Vertue Sc." This engraving has been four times copied:—H in the small folio print of loyal sufferers which has King Charles I. in the centre, and Archbishop Laud at the top:—by Basire, with, at the top, a Baron's coronet, and below, "S^r. H. Slingsby Bar^t. J. Basire Sculp.:—in an anonymous, and very poor, print, with, at the bottom, S. H. Slingsby:—and, in a print

prefixed to a work which will be mentioned presently. Basire's is a very fine print, but is plainly a copy, as it reverses the picture: there seems no reason for his having introduced the Baron's coronet, unless he meant to imply that Sir Henry would have worn one, had his Royal Master lived to bestow, and he to receive it.

It remains to give some account of the materials of the volume now presented to the Public.

The existence in manuscript of Sir Henry Slingsby's Diary has long been known to the literary world: in Seward's Anecdotes (p. 308. vol i. ed. 1795) are some quotations from a manuscript, said to be in the possession of James Petit Andrews Esq: they are however very incorrectly made, and there is the same suppression as that in another work, noticed at page 10 of this volume: M^r. Pennant also, in his posthumous work, the "Tour from Alston-moor to Harrowgate and Brimham Crags", has quoted a passage, probably from the Scriven manuscript, but not correctly.*

But besides these casual notices of it's existence, copious extracts from it were published at Edinburgh in 1806, under the title of Memoirs of Sir Henry

* See p. 64 of this volume.

Slingsby, with an imperfect copy of Vertue's print, in a volume containing also the memoirs of Captain Hodgson, and relations of various battles in the rebellion. No manuscript is there referred to, nor any account given of the means by which the extracts were obtained; but it is known that they were made from the Scriven manuscript: it cannot be said that they are given fairly, or with judgement. It is these extracts which are mentioned, under the impression that they were the *whole* of Sir Henry's MS. at the end of his trial in Howell's State Trials.

The Original in Sir Henry's handwriting is not now at Scriven, nor at Lacock Abbey, and is not known to exist: the manuscript now remaining at Scriven, from which the Diary is here printed, is a copy of the original, made by Sir Savile Slingsby in 1714-5, and certified under his hand.

The little work "A Father's Legacy" is a reprint of a tract of Sir Henry Slingsby, written in the Tower, and printed at York in 18mo. nearly half a century after his death, and now of great rarity; without which it was thought that the history of his life would not be perfectly presented to the reader: a fac-simile of the title-page has been made, in order to assist persons collecting books of that class in our literature.

The Correspondence and Papers were selected from a large body of MSS. at Scriven, after a very careful perusal; the principle on which each paper was chosen being, it's tendency, more or less, to illustrate the history or manners of our Country.

Sir Henry's mention of his being able to "challenge from many descents"—his own name—and the natural interest which we feel in the family history of the Ancestry and Posterity of individuals whom we admire—seemed sufficient reasons for giving a Geneàlogical account of his house; those already in print being incorrect and incomplete: and this was thought more desirable, from the circumstance that many of his kinsmen were engaged in the same Cause with himself.

The trial of Sir Henry is reprinted from the small quarto containing the trials, of himself, D^{r}. Hewet, and M^{r}. Mordaunt; which probably was published within a few days after the day of execution.

DIARY.

It was upon y^e^ last of October y^t^ sad accident hapned w^ch^ deprived * S^r^. Edward Osborn, y^e^ Vice-President of his eldest son, in y^e^ year 1638: this accident happned by great winds w^ch^ continu'd most part of this month, but cheifly upon y^t^ day on w^ch^ Osborn y^e^ son was slain, for being at his study y^t^ Morning w^th^ a French man, y^t^ tought him french, his father going to Kelton, & his mother only that morning gone to Lonsbrough [Lanesborough] to my Lord Cliffords, about 10 of y^e^ clock, y^e^ wind blew down w^th^ great violence 7 chimneys shafts upon y^e^ roof of y^t^ chamber in y^e^ mannor house, where he was at study & by y^e^ fall of y^m^ all y^e^ rotten peice of building was beat down, wherein he was found dead and buri'd in a heap of rubbish, y^e^ frenchman sav'd himself being at y^e^

* Sir Edward Osborn was created Baronet in 1620, and was Vice-President of the north and lieutenant general of the king's forces in the north on the breaking out of the rebellion. His first wife was Margaret elder sister of Frances Bellasyse the wife of Sir Henry, both being daughters of the first Viscount Falconberg. The issue of this match was the son whose death is here related, and whom Collins in his peerage mentions as "Edward who died in his infancy." His second wife was Anne Walmsley by whom he had issue Sir Thomas, who was ultimately created Duke of Leeds in 1694. See Collins sub. tit. Leeds, and Drake's Eboracum.

windowside & y^e^ ends off y^e^ timber falling from him & lying hollow, bore off y^e^ weight of y^e^ bricks & Tiles so y^t^ he receiv'd small hurts. I hapned to go to York y^t^ morning w^n^ I had sufficient experience how boistrous y^e^ winds were, being hardly able to sit on horseback, & as it blew south west it carrid y^e^ very water out of y^e^ river in a shower over land, & w^n^ I came at York, this unfortunate accident was told me of y^e^ death of Edward Osborn. He was one much lamented by all y^t^ knew him for those hopes he gave being then but of y^e^ age of 17. years. He was but of a slender body, & indiferently shot out in height, his limbs small but sinewy, his hair of a light colour & long and curl'd, his disposition gentle, & sober, of a good meine & carriage of body, loving & affable to every one, & thus was he taken away before he had experience of y^e^ vanities & vices of the Times. W^n^ my wife was told of this accident it did much trouble her, as she had reason, he being so near to her as her sister's son. Having warning by this accident she would not let me rest till I had pull'd down a chimney y^t^ stood on y^e^ garden Side at Red House w^ch^ was high built & shaken w^th^ y^e^ wind. She would often say how much we had cause to bless God, y^t^ hath given us this warning & not made us examples to give warning unto others. She is by nature timorous and compassionate w^ch^ makes her full of prayer in y^e^ behalf of others. I have sometimes been awaken in y^e^ night w^n^ I have heard her praying

to her self, as she never mist y^{t} duty in y^{e} day time. She is very tender and careful over her children having yet but two & now wth child; she has so taught her daughter * Barbara, who was born y^{e} 14th of May in y^{e} year 1633, that she is able already to say all her prayers, answer to her catechisme read & wright a little: w^{t} proof her Son Thomas will make we know not yet, being not more y^{n} 2 years & half, born y^{e} 15 of June 1636.

November y^{e} 19 I gave a presentation to Mr ffish of y^{e} rectory of Staveley. He succed'd his grandfather Phatuell Otby wth w^{m} I was brought up at School from y^{e} age of six until I was 15 years old. He was at y^{t} time Parson of Foston. y^{e} 3d of December was y^{e} christing of my brother John Bellasyse child; y^{e} Godfathers were M^{r}. Henry Bellasyse his Brother, & myself. y^{e} Godmother was S^{r}. Ferdinando Fairfax his Sons wife; she was daughter to my Lord Vere.† y^{e} christening was in my chappell y^{e} w^{ch} was built by my father S^{r} Henry Slingsby. This chappell is built in y^{e} form of a colledge chappell; In y^{e} east end of y^{e} chapple upon y^{e} glass is painted a Crucifix not as ordinary crucifixes are made but wth a transverse peice of wood at y^{r} feet as there is for y^{e} hands; at y^{e} feet of y^{e} crucifix is set y^{e} Virgin Mary: & on y^{e} one hand

* Afterwards married to Sir John Talbot.

† This was the lady who made the memorable answer for her husband, when his name was called at the King's trial

y^e^ picture of y^e^ Apostle S^t^. John: and on y^e^ other Elizabeth and underneath S^t^. Peter, S^t^. Andrew, St. Paul. In y^e^ South window y^e^ rest of y^e^ Apostles. In y^e^ north corner is an handsome Pulpit, a Table Altar-wise under y^e^ East window, with a cloath of purple colour wrought w^th^ stripes of worstett, w^ch^ was my wife's own Handiwork. In y^e^ middle of y^t^ chappell (to be remov'd at pleasure) stood a Pillar w^th^ branches at y^e^ top to set a Basin on, wherein water was set for y^e^ cristning.*

John Gowland a Carpenter dwelling at Popleton is working for me a frame for a Bell to hang in Moore Mounton church, y^e^ w^ch^ I bestow'd on y^e^ parish, as I did y^e^ brick y^t^ built y^e^ Steple, & they were part of those bricks I burnt to build my new Parlor: there was no Steeple before, but a little frame of wood like y^e^ Loever of a Dovecoat, Standing upon y^e^ roof of y^t^ church: wherein 2 Bells did hang: they both did not weigh above 4 or 5 & twenty stone & were given by y^e^ Earl of Northumberland, but not to this church. There was written in old letters about y^e^ Bells, Comes Northumbriæ Quintus, & y^e^ name Henry Percy, w^th^ their motto, Esperance en Dieu. I cast y^m^ both into one & added as much more Bell mettle as together w^th^ y^e^ casting of y^m^ cost me about £30, y^e^ Bell weighing about 900 weight. I have y^e^ Earles

* See note at the end of the Diary.

† See in correspondence, Sir William Slingsby's letter of May 3, 1611. This picture still remains, at Scriven.

picture in y^e^ house y^t^ gave y^e^ old Bells being grandfather to my grandmother: & son to y^t^ Earl w^ch^ was* slain in Yorkshire y^e^ 6^th^ year of King Henry y^e^ 7^th^. John Gowland is likewise a framing a Roof for a Smythye, w^ch^ I begun to build upon y^e^ moor, near y^e^ windmill, It is built of brick, or in a round forth; wherein I do like y^e^ world y^t^ is soon weary of one fashion and will mutare quadrata rotundis.

Edward Horseley a Painter in York is now painting y^e^ lodging chamber above y^e^ new Parlour, in colours sutable to those hangings I have bought to hang it w^th^ all. Y^e^ hangings I bought of Peter Pope in Bednall Greene, as also those y^t^ are in y^e^ withdrawing Roome to y^e^ new Parlour, wherein y^e^ 9 Muses are. Those in y^e^ Lodgin chamber are calfe skins silver'd, & wrought upon w^th^ a large flower in blew worstett: they come short of y^e^ ground having y^e^ breath of a pannell of wainscott below y^m^ & a frieze & cornish above y^m^. The chimney peice is paint'd answerable in blew and sylver. There is above y^e^ door y^t^ goes into y^e^ inner chamber a head carv'd in wood like a Roman head, w^ch^ I caus'd to be made for him y^t^ keeps y^e^ chambers & hath charge of y^e^ Wardrope, as a remembrance of him y^t^ hath so long & faithfully serv'd. This man Francis Oddy was servant to my father many years & since hath

* He was murdered by the populace at Cocklodge, Yorkshire, April 28, 1489. [4th Hen. VII.]

served me: my father at his death (who dy'd at Nunmounton at my Nephew* George Marwood's house y^e^ 17 of December 1634) did recommend this man Francis Oddy unto me having had good experience of his fidelity and diligence, & even such I find him hitherto. He serves me in y^e^ way of an upholsterer w^n^ there is need to furnish y^e^ Lodgin rooms and dress y^m^ up: he serves me for a Caterer to bye all mannor of provisions for y^e^ house, & to keep y^e^ wine cellar. He is of a very low stature, his head little, & his hair cut short, his face lean and full of wrinkles, his complection such y^t^ it shows he hath endur'd all wethers: his disposition not sutable w^th^ y^e^ rest of his fellow Servants w^ch^ doth either by diligence breed envy, or else thro' plain dealing Stir up variance: & having a working head is in continual debate.

The stair case y^t^ leads to y^e^ great chamber & by stepts higher into y^e^ painted chamber was furnish'd y^e^ last year by John Gowland. Y^e^ stair is above 5 feet w^th^in y^e^ sides in wideness: y^e^ Posts 8 inches square: upon every post a crest is set of my especial friends & of my brother-in-Laws: & upon y^t^ post y^t^ bears up y^e^ half pace y^t^ leads into y^e^ paint'd chamber there sits a blackamore cast in led by Andrew Karne a Dutchman, who also cut in stone y^e^ statue of y^e^ horse in y^e^ Garden. The blackamore sits

* George Marwood married Frances, daughter of Sir Walter Bethell of Alne and Mary sister of Sir Henry Slingsby the younger. He was created a Baronet December 31, 1660.

holding in either hand a candlestick to set a candle to give light to y^e^ stair case:*

Yesterday being y^e^ 17.of December I conclud'd all differences concerning lays and assessments w^th^ y^e^ inhabitants of y^e^ town of Knarsbrough, & have condescend'd so far as to be content'd y^t^ my Tenants of y^e^ Priory of S^t^. Roberts shall bear w^th^ y^e^ inhabitants of Knarsbrough in all manner of lays & assessments, so my Tenants of S^t^. Roberts be not assessed more y^n^ 3*s*. 8*d*. at a single lay & so proportionable according as y^e^ assessment is more or less. I was contented to yeild thus much unto y^m^ to avoid further suite altho my tenants had not at any time paid any constable lay at all, and rather for the good will I bore to John Warrener & Richard Roads who did earnestly solicite me to this agrement.

The 19^th^ of December I came acquaint'd with M^r^. Tim. Thurscross a Prebend of York, having some discourse w^th^ him in y^e^ Librarie at y^e^ minster church in York, at w^ch^ time he bestow'd on me a book call'd y^e^ hundred & ten considerations of John Valdesco a Spaniard.† He is a man of late greatly mortyfi'd, having w^th^ in less than this half year resign'd unto y^e^ Arch-Bishop of York his Arch-Deaconrie and Vicaridge of Kerby Moorside, being

* See note at the end of the Diary.

† Then just translated and published by Nicholas Farrer. See Walton's life of George Herbert, and Peckard's life of Farrer.

much troubl'd in his conscience for having obtain'd y^m^ thro Symonie, & now living at York hath nothing to maintain himself and his wife w^th^ all but his Prebend. He preacheth every Sunday at one place or other where most need is, & oftentimes on y^e^ week days, & his wife betakes herself to get her living by teachin young children to Sow. He is a man of most holy life, only he is conformable to y^e^ church* discipline y^t^ now is used & to those late impos'd ceremonies of bowing & adoring towards y^e^ altar.

W^n^ I ask'd him his opinion concerning this or y^t^, I thought it came too near idolatry to adore a place w^th^ rich cloaths & other furniture & to command to use towards it bodily worship: to w^ch^ he answer'd y^t^ his bowing was not to y^e^ altar but to God especially in y^t^ place; w^ch^ gesture he said was frequently used in Primitive times, & every one may do as he is persuad'd in mind; it might be said in this case, as y^e^ Apostle says in another, He y^t^ reguardeth a day reguardeth it unto y^e^ Lord, & he y^t^ reguardeth not y^e^ day, to y^e^ Lord he doth not reguard it;† this man bestow'd a great part of y^e^ day

* Laud, now Archbishop of Canterbury, was labouring to restore the discipline of the Church which had been crumbling away under what has been called the "unhappy primacy" of Archbishop Abbot.

† The reader will not fail to recollect that these were the days of George Herbert and Nicholas Farrer.

in prayer wth much fasting, he riseth at 4 o'clock in y^{e} morning, & is at prayers in private & wth his family until six, at w^{ch} time he goes to y^{e} Minster prayers, & from thence to y^{e} Librarie till ten, and y^{n} to y^{e} minster prayers again, & thus he spends his days & strength, being much impar'd & weakn'd by his much fasting. His discourse does much tend to show how hard a thing it is to be a good cristian, & he y^{t} will be a right cristian must suffer martyrdom, if not by loss of life, yet by the loss of credit & honour, w^{ch} is as dear to many as life, seeing we have experience y^{t} they will venture life in defence of honour. My wife this christmas intending to receive y^{e} holy sacrament, & being also great with child, did send for M^{r} Ascough a preacher in York (whom she had a very great esteem for) that she might receive from his mouth y^{e} absolution of y^{e} church & some whoolesome council for her soul, he being a man very eloquent both for his ordinary preachin & private discourse. It is a doctrine but of late practis'd, tho, it hath been tought always in our church, y^{e} benefit of confession in some cases. He doth not require y^{t} there should be a particularising of every sin, as sin may be aggravated by circumstances, but y^{t} there should be a general sorrowing & forsaking of all manner of sins, w^{ch} he doth make proof of by propounding unto y^{m} certain questions whereunto they must answer: & otherwise y^{n} thus I conceive not how it can be impos'd upon y^{e}

conscience as absolutely necessary; for unless y^e^ absolution of y^e^ priest did so far opperate as to make y^e^ party absolv'd to stand in no more need of absolution concerning y^t^ sin, & occasion should be never so much present'd and offer'd, yet would he stand unmoveable: even as we see Lime y^t^ hath been once slackt, tho' you cast never so much water upon it you can't heat it; & such a change God's spirit may work; where such a change is not, there may be relapse unto y^e^ same sin again, & by custome y^t^ w^ch^ at first did overawe y^e^ conscience to restrain it, to wit. shame, should at last become no restraint at all w^n^ custome had made it familiar: & if absolution should be deny'd y^m^ if they could not have it at y^e^ hands of one, they might have it at y^e^ hands of another. And y^e^ Gosple [that] tells us, whose sins ye remit they are remitt'd, whose sins ye retain they are retain'd, ought to be (as I conceive) understood either of publick scandalous sins, or else there refusal to receive y^e^ Gosple to whom it was preach'd: as our Saviour command'd those he sent to shake off y^e^ dust of their feet against y^e^ house or city y^t^ refus'd y^m^; so y^t^ if it should be meant of secret sins, y^n^ they must be confess'd & so remitted, for if they should be not confess'd, they cant well retain y^t^ sin whereof they have no knowledge.

* The 3^rd^ of January (out of curiosity to see y^e^

* In the Edinburgh Extracts this passage is quoted as follows. "The third of January 1639, out of curiosity I went to

spectacle of our publick death) I went to Bramton [Bramham] moor to see y^e^ training of our light horse, for w^ch^ service I my self had sent 2 horses, by commandment from the Deputy Lieuetenants & S^r^ Jacob Asley who is lately come down w^th^ speciall comission from y^e^ King to train & exercise y^m^. These are strange, strange spectacles to this nation in this age, y^t^ have liv'd thus long peacably, w^th^ out noice of shot or drum & after we have stood newtrals & in peace w^n^ all y^e^ world besides hath been in arms & wast'd with it; it is I say a thing most horrible y^t^ we should engage our self in a war one w^th^ another, & w^th^ our own venom gnaw & consume ourself. It is strange to see a flock of birds as it were an army in y^e^ air of one kind to fight & tear one another; & such fights hath been seen to prognosticate y^s^ events that should follow. Our fear proceeds from y^e^ Scots who at this time are become most warlike, being exercis'd in the Sweedish and German wars; & from hence many begun to call to mind a prophecy w^ch^ did foretell y^t^ after England had been conquer'd by y^e^ Danes Saxons and Normans, at last it should be conquer'd by y^e^ Scots, but I hope this age will not find y^e^ effect of it. y^e^ cause of their grievance as they pre-

Bramham moor," &c. The date inserted is wrong, and should be 1638; and the reader will observe that by the suppression of part of the sentence, Sir Henry is made to express an idle curiosity instead of the patriotic feeling which he had really committed to writing.

tend is matter of religion; a fair pretext if y^e^ design be answerable to y^e^ cause, or y^t^ y^e^ cause be taken upon good ground: for what is more usual y^n^ to make religion a pretence & cloake for wick'dness. Nihil enim in specie fallacius quam prava religio, ubi deorum numen prætenditur sceleribus. As if ambition, avarice, cruelty & revenge had not sufficient vigour & courage unless they came arm'd w^th^ Justice and devotion. y^e^ Scots do mainly stand in defence of y^e^ government of their church by y^e^ Presbytery, & admitt not of any Bishops & therefore do now seek to expell out of y^e^ church those whom our King in his time hath establish'd, fearing lest he might by degrees introduce a new form in their church; & y^t^ w^ch^ made y^m^ y^e^ more fear it was y^t^ now of late he enjoyn'd y^m^ to accept a form of publick prayer & administring y^e^ sacrament some w^t^ differing from our book of common prayer, w^ch^ they have refus'd to accept.*

* Clarendon, after remarking on the injudicious manner in which the attempt to restore the Church Government in Scotland was made, and that nothing but a delusion in imagining Popery was the ultimate design, could have made the Scotch rebel, adds, "their whole Religion consisting in an entire detestation of Popery, in believing the Pope to be Antichrist, and hating perfectly the persons of all Papists, and, I doubt, all others who did not hate them." It would seem, too, that the fanatical party in England were not unwilling to assist in spreading the delusion; the following is quoted by Whitelock [Memorials, p. 71. Anno. 1643] as one of the counsells of "a

Neither y^e^ one nor y^e^ other can expect to receive advantage by this war where y^e^ remedy will prove worse y^n^ y^e^ disease. I like their opinion who would not have violence offer'd to y^e^ quiet repose of a country, no not to reform & cure y^e^ same, nor allow of y^t^ reformation w^ch^ is purchas'd w^th^ y^e^ blood & ruine of the citizens. We ought not to usurp the tyrannical possessions of a Common Wealth, w^th^ such druggs as war brings, whose best physick is infection; it is of so ravenous & maligne a nature y^t^ if it continue any while we shall not be able to distinguish y^e^ sound from y^e^ sick, both in respect of their manners, & of their estates; every man finding himself upon y^e^ point of his fortune's overthrow and downfall; we seek by war to defend y^e^ Lawe, & while y^t^ we do so, we do but enter into actual Rebellion against her own ordinance. We pretend we do but chastice disobedience, & yet we show y^e^ example of it; we cure sedition & is therew^th^ ourselves infect'd: w^t^ part will be exempt'd in these popular diseases from corruption where they shall find such freedom to all licentiousness?

At such a time we need not go to Theaters to understand by fabulous representations y^e^ tragick revolutions of human fortune; ourselves shall be y^e^

book set out by Saltmarsh, *a Minister*," which he says gave distaste to sober men.

"To cherish the war under the notion of Popery, is the surest means to engage the People." Does this not go far to explain the talk of that time of Popery, Papists, Recusants, &c.

actors, & calling Devils & furies to our help shall subvert all policies, disgrace magistracy, abuse Law, filling our minds & hearts w^th^ malice hatred & murder. These are times for Historians to write who seek, to avoid all calm narrations as a dead water, to fill their volumes w^th^ cruell warrs & seditions. I desire not employments at these times; it is for those y^t^ will purchase it at any rates; undique totis usque adeo turbatur aquis: where to do evil is common, to do nothing is in a manner commendable. Yet I hapn'd to be in some employment tho it were but short. My Lord Deputy of Ireland sent his letters unto my L^d^ Mayor of York & to my self as Deputy Lieuetenants. My Ld. Mayor had a commission, but I had no other but his Lordship's letters; by w^ch^ I sat to assist my L^d^ Mayor in y^e^ taking y^e^ view of arms, y^e^ which I did perform most diligently, a thing not usual w^th^ me who does little affect business: therefore as I enter'd upon it by virtue of my L^d^ Deputies letters directed to my L^d^ Mayor & myself, after 2 months service I gave it over, being left out by y^e^ Vice-President in a general Summons to all y^e^ Deputy Leiftenants.

It is said y^t^ abstinence from doing is often as generous as doing. And he y^t^ cannot for conscience, at least for ambition, let him refuse ambition;* it is

* Perhaps Sir Henry meant to say here, "If a man cannot abstain from ambition [*i. e.* ambitious pursuits] for conscience,

not y^e best fortune y^t is rais'd y^e highest; y^e meaner it is y^e more solid & firm it is: & having pleasures seutable to our fortune, let us not usurp those of greatness: those actions are most commendable y^t are perform'd w^th no ostentation & those actions have most grace, w^ch carelessly & under sylence pass from y^e hands of a work man; but on y^e contrary we judge our actions lost, if they be not set out to show like Mountebanks, y^t show y^e operation of their skill upon scaffolds in view of all passengers, y^t more notice may be taken of y^m: so ambitious are we of renown, y^t goodness, moderation, equity, constancy, & such qualities, are little set by.

The 17 of January I went to meet Mr Ridley [Feodary] at York, to receive from him a Survey of my Lands at Harswell; but my success was like to y^t I ever found amongst such like people; nothing satisfactory, but always to another man's disadvantage if they be not pleas'd; & yet I offered him 5 pounds to let me have it w^th me, but y^t will not do, I must send my man to him at Beverley. In Easter Term last I obtain'd an order out of y^e court of wards, by a motion made by Mr. Heus (who had y^n great practise & a favourite to my Lord Cottington) for y^e moderating of a survey w^ch Goodhand, Feodorie for y^e West Riding, had made 3 years before w^n I went about to

let him, at all events, do so for ambition [*i. e.* ambitious feeling] for fear of the mortifications to which it is exposed."

sue out my Livery:* it was thought so unreasonable a survey, as Mr Moor, to whom y^e^ order was made, survey'd it at 311£ less y^n^ Goodhand had done it. But this order I obtained w^th^ great difficulty, being oppos'd & crost by Goodhand, who tho' he were since put out of y^e^ Office of Feodorie for his bad behaviour, yet he hung about y^e^ court still, & solicits there. It is an easy matter for one in authority to extend y^e^ power of it to another man's wrong & prejudice, & y^e^ more easy by so much as common practise doth authorise it however reason & nature may condemn it as unjust: if y^e^ man y^t^ is in authority & office do but exercise it, according to y^t^ manner as he that went before him us'd it, he thinks he hath sufficient warrant for w^t^ he doth; he reguards not w^t^ offence he giveth, he thinks himself secure if his authority can bear him out: his predicessor made this advantage of it, why may not he follow his example? but y^e^ approbation of others in so corrupt an age is an uncertain foundation to build vertuous actions upon; y^t^ w^ch^ is commendable is not always learnt by example of y^e^ most part. God keep every man from being an honest man according to y^e^ discription is now adays made of it; y^t^ w^ch^ was account'd vice is now grown in fashion, & nothing count'd vice; but y^e^ whole deformity & incommodity is palpable, & this too w^ch^ we count deform'd goeth so unquietly & staggeringly as our

* Sir Henry had a *Special* Livery in 1642.

imaginations will apprehend it otherwise upon other circumstances & considerations. Peradventure we may judge clearly at y^e^ first touch & trial of an Action, but a custome & usage will soon corrupt our Judgment & if this do it not, common practise & example will persuade us we dont err, if we do but after their fashions; sanitatis patrocinium est, insanientis, turba; so hard a matter it is to preserve one self from y^e^ contagion of an Age, so infect'd as ours is; if we weer to make inquisition where could y^t^ man be found y^t^ could say of himself in his own conscience y^t^ he never hath been guilty of y^e^ affliction or ruine of any body, nor culpable of envy, nor revenge, nor comitt'd any publick offence against y^e^ Laws, nor stain'd w^th^ any innovation, trouble or sedition, nor spott'd w^th^ falsifying his word, or hath liv'd of his own w^thout intruding into y^t^ w^ch^ was another mans, or us'd some mans labour w^thout reward. It is hard to find a man in these times y^t^ can clear himself of all or some of these. If he be our enemy, envey, or revenge shall work in him, & desire to seek our ruine, & if he be our freind his own interest shall sway in him, so far as to make him falsify his trust if any such be comitt'd to him, & work his own ends by another mans loss & disadvantage: & this is commonly seen in matters of Wardship,* where young children w^thout

* "The original of Wardships and the misapplication of the intention of Wardships, and the present oppression to the

parents may be bought & sold, not unlike y^t^ Law for bondmen which gives liberty to use y^m^ as one list, so y^t^ they slay y^m^ not, & yet not w^th^ standing, if they continue a day or two & die, they shall not be punish'd, for he is their mony; & so are wards now a days made mony off, whether in y^e^ hands of friends or strangers. John Goodhand being Feodorie obtains y^e^ wardship of M^r^ Duhurst, & being not able to find a tenure to make him ward, practis'd w^th^ his father in Law y^t^ marry'd Duhursts mother, y^t^ so by y^t^ means they two having confess'd a tenure, makes Duhurst absolutely ward unto him: so also a Lord in this Country, who sold his own Grandchild y^t^ was his Ward to pass him over a ward unto another: there are not a few examples of this kind.

The 29^th^ of January 1638 was y^e^ cristening of my son Henry in my chapple at Red House being born 37 years after me upon y^e^ same day I was born w^ch^ was y^e^ 14 of January in y^e^ year 1601, y^e^ year beginning according to our account on y^e^ 25^th^ of March.

families of Noblemen and Gentlemen by Wardships, being opened to the House by Selden, Maynard, St. John, myself and other Lawyers, the House passed a vote, that the Court of Wards itself, and all Wardships, Tenures, Licenses for Alienation, &c. should be taken away; and the Lords concerned therein." Whitelock's Memorials, p. 194. [Feb. 12, 1645.]

An act was passed after the restoration, taking away the Court of Wards, to which king Charles II. gave his assent, December 24, 1660.

His Godmother was my brother John Bellasise wife, who hath liv'd here w^th^ me ever since she came into this country from Tottnam where her mother my Lady Butler liv'd. His Godfathers were S^r^ Hugh Cholmondely, & my brother Henry Bellasise by his Deputy. Henry Bethell: for my L^d^ Fauconbridge would not suffer his son to be a partner w^th^ S^r^ Hugh Cholmondely for some disgust y^t^ his Lordship had taken at him. The company at y^e^ christning was not many having only our neighbours & some few from York. M^r^ Thurscross preach'd having come a foot from York y^t^ morning; but he refus'd to preach w^th^ out leave from y^e^ Chancellor D^r^ Eardell, because y^e^ Chapple is not consecrat'd, so having w^th^ much ado obtain'd leave he came unexpect'd. His text was out of y^e^ Gosple for y^t^ day where our Saviour commands his disciples to suffer little children to come unto him & forbid not.

Notw^th^standing this inhibition we venture to have sermons in our Chapple now & y^n^, altho' we incur some danger if it were complain'd off, it being contrary to y^e^ orders of y^e^ Church. I once assay'd to get it consecrat'd by our Bishop w^ch^ is Bishop Neale,* but he refus'd, having as he saith express command not to consecrate any, least it may be occasion of conventicles, & so I think it may be abus'd, yet it

* It was afterwards consecrated by Bishop Morton. Archbishop Neale sat in the see of York from 1631 to 1641.

would be of great ease to us y^t^ live here at Redhouse to have a sermont in y^e^ Chapple, being so far from our Parish Church at Moor Mountain; especially in Winter wether. It is not amiss to have a place concecrat'd for Devotion, as our Churches are, therby to seperate y^m^ for y^t^ use: but we cannot stay our self here, but must attribute a sanctity to y^e^ very walls & stones of y^e^ Church; & herein we do of late draw near to y^e^ superstition of y^e^ Church of Rome, who do suffer such external devotion to efface & wear out y^e^ inward devotion of y^e^ heart, & so may come to be as conceited in Judgement as y^e^ Pharisees, whom our Saviour Jesus Christ reprehends, who said y^t^ whosoever shall swear by y^e^ Temple it is nothing, but whosoever shall swear by y^e^ Gold of y^e^ Temple, he is a Debtor; such a Zeale w^th^ out knowledge had y^t^ Monke, whom we read of, call'd Demophilus, who seeing a poor penitent at y^e^ feet of his confessor to receive absolution of his faults, fell into so violent a fit of cholar, to see so vile a sinner as this man was to approach so nigh y^e^ high alter, y^t^ falling upon him, kick'd & push'd w^th^ his feet, reviling y^e^ preist y^t^ had admitt'd him, & y^n^ running unto y^e^ altar, he took away y^e^ holy things there, & carry'd y^m^ off, least, as he would make men think, y^e^ place should have been prophan'd by y^e^ sinners approach; et multa alia quæ acceperant tenenda. Not only in this but in other things men are prone, if they be suffer'd, to turn devotion into superstition, & place it in y^e^ splendor of out-

ward things; as one saith y^e^ sence of man carrieth a resemblance of y^e^ sun, w^ch^ revealeth all y^e^ terrestial globe unto us, but again it obscureth y^e^ stars & celestial globe; so whilst y^t^ we apply our sence to this outward cervise, it obscureth in us y^e^ opperation of God, who would have us serve him in Spirit & truth. The holy writ sayth, ye are Temple of y^e^ Holy Ghost: & as if our Churches were a more safe repository for it, our Churchmen, will divest y^m^ selves of it to place it there. W^n^ we come into a Church we come w^th^ our hatts off, & endeavour to lay aside all worldly cares, and compose our selves to more serious matters, considering where we are; but if in a place Clergimen are, & enter into their acquaintance, for y^e^ most part we shall receive no benefit, but rather harm; whose example shall teach us rather to embrace y^e^ world y^n^ forsake y^e^ world; being covetous, contentious, proud, boasters, ambitious: of such St. Jerome warnes us in one of his epistles: Negotiatorem. Clericum, ex inope divitem, ex ignobili gloriosum, quasi quandam pestum fugio. The 17 of February I sent Henry Kirkman y^e^ Milner of my Windmill, to keep for me y^e^ Mill at Knasborough, having taken it into my own hands. It was but last year y^t^ I repair'd y^e^ Dome of Knasborough mill, having had y^e^ year before more y^n^ a 3^d^ part driven down by a flood; y^e^ charge whereof in repairing besides y^e^ timber, w^ch^ took an 110 trees, stood me in workmanship of timber 19*l.* 4*s.* 11*d.* ac-

cording as it is in my eousen* Birnands account: for leading† 11*l.* 10*s.* 4*d.* W^m^ Thompson Carpenter being cheife workman. I had lett y^e^ Mills of Knasborough, and St. Robert's‡ at 25*l.* y^e^ Quarter to a Millner at York, but he hath enjoy'd it but half a year, & now is gone away in my debt. Y^e^ Mills weré worth a great deal more if they had had y^e^ samé soke, w^ch^, whiles Knasborough Mills were y^e^ Kings, they had, but now y^e^ § soak is bought & sold, since carrying hath been in use: & especially at y^t^ Mill at

* Anne, the daughter of Thomas Slingsby, great-grandfather to Sir Henry, was married to Robert Birnand of Knaresborough.

† *Leading*, i. e. drawing materials; an expression common in the north of England.

‡ The Priory of St. Robert, which perished at the dissolution. A modern house, called the Abbey, occupies the site. St. Robert's cave, a little further down the river Nidd, which takes its name from the Patron Saint of the Priory, has become noted of late years, as being the place in which the body of Clark was buried by Eugene Aram and Houseman.

§ Soc, "signifies power or liberty to minister justice and execute laws; also the circuit or territory where such power is exercised: whence our law latin word soca is used for a seigniory or lordship enfranchised by the king with the liberty of holding or keeping a court of his sockmen." Jacob's Law Dictionary.

The word soc, means, a plough: whence socage, that is, "a tenure by which tenants held their lands, to plough the land of their lords with their own ploughs, and do other inferior services of husbandry at their own charge." Ibid.

Goldsbrough, drawing away y^e^ custome from y^e^ Mills by lending poor men mony & other courteseis we housekeepers may do. My father in his time began a suit against those y^t^ did grind away from y^e^ Mills, w^ch^ whiles y^t^ they were y^e^ Kings, those y^t^ were y^e^ Kings Tenants were bound to bring their Corn unto y^e^ Kings Mills: & having bought y^m^ of y^e^ King those y^t^ were ty'd to this soke, ought to be so still, or else in equity to be releiv'd. But y^e^ suit was so follow'd by those who had relation unto Judge Hutton, & y^e^ Mill of Goldborough soe near a neighbour to y^e^ Mill of Knarsborough, as my father could have no remedy. Y^e^ Mill of Knasborough being so near y^e^ town, it were more convenient for y^e^ town to have their corn ground there y^n^ to have it fetch'd a mile or two; but such is their perverseness y^t^ they will not be brought to do it, w^n^ they have nothing to find fault w^th^ concerning y^e^ Miller, but y^t^ they have their Corn well ground, and their own again; yet they will refuse to send, out of a conceit y^t^ he cannot but steale if he pay his rent, having so great a rent to pay, as they imagine.

Last Sunday my Cook George Taylor went to be marry'd to a maid of Doctor Wickhams at York, & if she be so head strong as they say she is, he will after find his service here freedom in respect of y^t^ bondage he must undergo. This Cook hath been y^e^ freest from disorder of 5 several Cooks w^ch^ I have had since I became a housekeeper; some of w^ch^ hath

been w^th^ out all measure disorder'd. W^n^ they have sometimes stolne abroad I should not hear of y^m^ for 3 or 4 days together; yet commonly I never part'd w^th^ any of y^m^ till I made y^m^ as glad to be gone as I would have y^m^. I never grew passhionate w^th^ y^m^, nor threaten'd y^m^ much if I found them serviceable otherwise, but still sought to win y^m^ from the habits of drinking, by fair means, willing to accept their future promise of amendment, w^ch^ I took so often for satisfaction, & they every time less able to perform, y^e^ habit growing yet more upon y^m^, y^t^ rather y^n^ they should not enjoy y^e^ vice of drunkeness w^th^ more quietness & freedom, they would at last be glad y^t^ I would take occasion to turn y^m^ away. I requir'd not of y^m^ So much their dressing y^e^ meat, having a woman servant y^t^ took into her custody all y^e^ provision, and delivered it out: so that I need not fear y^e^ Cook's imbezeling, especially if he be a marry'd man as this Cook Samuell was; and for their curiosity in y^e^ art of Cookery I do not much value, nor have we much use for it in our country housekeeping, unless sometimes w^n^ we have a meeting of friends, & y^n^ only to comply w^th^ y^e^ fashions of y^e^ times, to shew myself answerable to w^t^ is expect'd, & not out of any love unto excessive feasting; w^ch^ now a days is very much practis'd. In former times y^e^ fashions were to keep great houses not affecting curiosity [so much] as plenty: & new things, they turn'd y^e^ honour of housekeeping into some one single entertainment for

w^{ch} our own marketts are too mean to afford y^{m} y^{t} w^{ch} their curious appetites would have; but they must send beyond sea & make y^{e} trade of Merchants, only intend'd for publick commodity, now at last serve for their private ends of vain glory. Like to this hath been in former times amongst y^{e} Romans, whose excess was so great y^{t} they count'd not of y^{t} entertainment w^{ch} had not Remotorum littorum piscem, peregrini aeris volucrem, alieni temporis florem; but this abuse & excess is not receiv'd by great personages of y^{e} nobility only, but even others, honoris gratia, must imitate even beyond w^{t} their abilities will afford. Y^{t} w^{ch} blinds every one y^{t} they cannot see any deformity in such excess, is y^{e} generallity of it w^{n} it once comes into fashion; whereby we stray from our selves & seek our evils out of our selves, w^{n} they are root'd in us. I am not ambitious say we, but no man can live otherwise here. I am not sumptuous, but y^{e} Citty requires great charges; so whilst we perceive our selves not to do amiss, to recover our selves will be more difficult. Laws to moderate the vain expences of chear & apparell, as one saith, seemeth contrary to its end, w^{n} by Law they would prohibitt any man but princes & great persons to eat dainties & wear rich cloaths, for by thus doing they do but increase their credit & price. The best course were to begett in men a contempt of y^{m}, as of vain and hurtfull things, w^{ch} might be easily done, if great persons would first begin to leave their

superfluous expence; it would be observ'd as a Law w^th^ out Act of Parliament or proclamation; for, as they say, y^t^ w^ch^ princes do, y^t^ they seem to command. It was a good invention of Seleucus, to reform y^e^ corrupt manners of y^e^ Locrines, To enact y^t^ none should wear any jewells of Gold, precious stones, or embrodery, except she were a profest whore; thus did he by this device reform y^e^ city from all vain superfluities & precious Daintys: & so should we be easily reform'd, & made to give over all superfluities, if y^e^ court did not give reputation to such things, & encrease our longing by their practising.

We read in former times how they liv'd far more parcimoniously, w^n^ Attilus Regulus general of y^e^ Roman army, crav'd leave to be discharg'd y^t^ he might go home to his business, having heard y^t^ a Ploughman of his was run away & had stolen all his tooles & implements of Husbandry. So Cato y^e^ Elder, returning Consul from Spain, sold his house of cervise to defray y^e^ charge of his transport by Sea into Italy. Also Scipio Æmilianus after he had tryumph'd 2 & been Consul 2, went a solemn embassage only attend'd on by 7 Servants.

The number we are at this time in houshold is 30 persons whereof 16 are men servants, and 8 women, besides ourselves. Our charge is much every year alone certainly, being well accommodated w^th^ good faithfull diligent servants, so y^t^ at least I spend every year in housekeeping £500, if y^e^ demeane grounds

w^ch^ I keep in my own hands be reckon'd according to y^e^ Rent it would give, & y^e^ charge in getting it; w^ch^ yet serves not y^e^ house w^th^ corn, but [I] am fain to buy. I am now about a point of Husbandry, new grown in fashion, of burning y^e^ swarth they mean to plough, y^e^ ashes whereof by experience they find to yeild a greater increase of corn y^n^ any other manure of Lime Malr [marl] or Dung, but it will not last longer y^n^ y^e^ taking of 3 crops, & many think it doth hurt to y^e^ ground; but hereafter I will try it upon a peice of ground w^ch^ they call y^e^ out Gang, being never before plou'd in y^e^ memory of any man. I have lately set y^m^ on to plough it; y^e^ way they take in doing it, is, first to cut y^e^ swarth w^th^ a thing for y^t^ purpose made like a Sledge w^th^ 5 or 6 bars, in y^e^ middle of w^ch^ they put an iron like y^e^ end of a coulter, but made sharpe at y^e^ edge, w^ch^ cuts y^e^ swarth, being drawn w^th^ a team of oxen & a great weight laid upon y^e^ sledge to make it take y^e^ more hold. W^n^ they have gone over all y^e^ ground & have thus cut it, y^n^ they plough it w^th^ a broad sock w^ch^ turns up y^e^ sod being before cut: y^n^ they gather it into heaps & burn it, y^n^ spreading it upon y^e^ land they plough & sow it. y^e^ gain is great they make by this husbandry, w^n^ as they refuse not to give 20*s.* by y^e^ year an acre for 3 crops w^ch^ before they gave little rent at all [for].

A course of husbandry never herebefore us'd in this latter age, in y^e^ end whereof this world must be

consum'd w^th^ burning, but sure it may be y^e^ cause of so great winds as we have had this whole year y^t^ hath done so much harm, both by sea & land. Upon y^e^ coast of Holland we have heard of many hundreds w^ch^ by y^e^ sea have been cast up at one time this same year; all of y^m^ being cast away in those great tempests; so at land we heard of y^e^ blowing down of Chimneys, of Wind Mills, and lead of Churches; & likewise of great thunders & lightning y^e^ last Winter w^ch^ y^e^ old wifes proverbs saith, Winters thunder summers wonder; y^e^ lightning hath done great hurt to some Churches about London, being set on fire by lightning, & Bells melt'd w^th^ y^e^ heat of it. A man being abroad in y^e^ woods one morning w^n^ it hapn'd to thunder & lighten was himself & his dog both slain by it, & y^e^ hedge he lay under to shelter himself from it all blast'd & burnt.

In Devonshire at a town call'd Withicomb (in October last) there happen'd such a thunder & lightning y^t^ y^e^ people w^th^in y^e^ church (being upon a Sunday) could not be preserv'd from y^e^ mischief of it, but some it did smite down w^th^ out doing y^m^ any other hurt, others had their cloaks burnt, others had their skins scorch'd, & one man had his branes dash'd out against y^e^ wall; there is no event that hath not an Almighty providence to direct it, for God is y^e^ author of every action and event; but to go about to find out y^e^ cause of every accident would be great presumption, being hidden amongst y^e^ secrets of de-

vine will; who amongst men can know Gods counsell, & who can think w^t God can do? y^e battle is not always to y^e strong, nor y^e race to y^e Swift, for time & chance happens to all: so death happens as well to y^e wise as foolish; & y^e same mischief shall befall us as befalleth y^e brute beast, neither can we judge of y^e man by such unfortunate accidents, as may befall him; common it is w^th those y^t have y^e stroke of devine vengeance: since we read y^t Arius died upon a privy; Leo*, Heliogabalus, as also Ireneus Bishop of Lyons, we read to be engag'd in y^e like misfortunes: thereby to teach us y^t y^e good have something else to hope for, & y^e wicked somew^t else to fear y^n ye good or bad fortune of this World. It is y^e part of a Cristian to believe y^t all things come from God & in w^t manner soever they are sent him to take y^m in good part, & not to be interpreters and controulers of God's secret designs, presuming to find out y^e incomprehensible motives of his works; contrary to y^e custom of some in these days y^t would ground & establish our religion upon y^e prosperity of our enterprises as if our beleif had no other foundation y^n w^t is ground'd by events, w^ch must needs be a very tottering foundation, w^n every cross accident

* Perhaps the Emperor Leo who died in 911, who during the lifetime of his Father the Emperor Basil was imprisoned. Irenæus, Bishop of Lyons, is said to have suffered martyrdom in 202. Sir Henry seems to be opposing Arius and Heliogabalus to Leo and Irenæus.

[which] comes contrary to our expectation 'shall hazard y^e^ overthrow of our faith. As it hapn'd to y^e^ Papist at black fryars not many years ago in [the] reign of King James, where they were assembled at Mass, y^e^ chamber having been over burdened by y^e^ multitude of those y^t^ came to hear Mass, did on a sudden fall down & y^e^ fall slew y^e^ preist & many others; so this accident at Withicom gives cause of speech to many w^ch^ were better let alone, & their cause rather maintan'd w^th^ y^e^ true foundations of verity. Quam inscrutabilia tua judicia & impervestigabiles viæ tuæ Domine.*

[1639.]

The 10 of April my brother John Bellasyse's [child] depart'd out this life after a weeks sickness in y^e^ measells: it was a general sickness at this time & few places free from it & y^e^ ague; there's no danger of y^e^ measells if they come well out, w^ch^ they did not of this Child, tho y^e^ physitian Dr. Parker endeavour'd it by all y^e^ means he could. I never had so many

* "As that Church [the Church of Rome] is the least apt of any society we know, to speak good of those who differ from her, so she has not very much to boast as to others saying much good of her. And if signal providences have now and then happened, these are such things, and they are carried on with such a depth, that we must acquiesce in the observation of the wisest man of all ages, that the race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong; but that time and chance happeneth to all things." Bp. Burnet on the 19th Article

sick in my house since I came to keep house, at one time; my children & divers servants sick, either of y^e^ ague or y^e^ measells; but none dy'd but this child, nor hath any dy'd of y^e^ house these 40 years, but a man of S^r^. W^m^. Slingsby's, and this child; I have bespoken a tomb for it to set up in Moor Mountain Church * where it was buri'd, being y^e^ fathers desire, having but this child. It was at this time y^e^ King lay at York† at his going into Scotland w^th^ an army, & there remain'd untill he had drawn down such foot companions of prest souljiers & troops of horse as he intend'd to take w^th^ him: on Wednesday in Easter Week, y^e^ King's Majesty went to Selby, to vew his troops y^t^ lay there; it was an extraordinary preparation y^t^ was made for this warr, wherein y^e^ greatest part of y^e^ nobility & gentry of this kingdom was personally engag'd, every one coming according to his ability compleatly furnish'd w^th^ horse, some more some less. The Kings letters to y^e^ Nobility did engage y^m^ according as they did: offer they brought,

* Where it is still to be seen.

† He came to York March 30, 1639, and left it, to go northward, April 29. On the 11th of April, being Maunday Thursday, the king kept his Maunday in the Minster, when the Bishops of Ely and Winchester [Wren and Curle] washed the feet of thirty nine poor men, and the king bestowed on them food, clothes, and money. For a full account of the reception of the king, and the ceremony of the Maunday, See Drake's Eboracum.

some 10, some 20, some more. I am charg'd wth 2 light horse wth in y^{e} West Riding according to my estate there, & I took 2 light horse wth me to serve y^{e} King in this Journey. I did desighn y^{m} for my Lords of Hollands troop, & had Billet for y^{m} at my L^{ds} Quarters where his troop lay at *Twizel; my L^{d} had y^{e} use of my Cozen Selbeys house, & there kept a very noble house & gave great entertainments to many of y^{e} Commanders y^{t} frequent'd to him; at this place having y^{e} freedom of my L^{ds} house & a chamber to myself by my Cozen Selbeys means, I did continue as one of my L^{ds} Troops till a a peace was conclud'd between y^{e} King & y^{e} L^{ds} of y^{e} Covenant in Scotland.† My L^{d} of Holland being

* "Monday June 3, the Earl of Holland, with 2000 Horse and 2000 Foot march'd again [having made a previous march, May 31,] into Scotland over the river Tweed near Twisle, (a Town belonging to Sir William Selby) to fall upon the Scots who were at Kelsey." Rushworth, p. 935, vol. ii. part 2.

† June 18, 1639. The articles are given by Rushworth, p. 945, vol ii. part 2. They were signed in the Camp near Berwick-upon-Tweed. Clarendon says, "whosoever will take upon him to relate all that passed in that Treaty, must be beholding to his own Invention; the most material matters having passed in discourse, and very little committed to writing. Nor did any two who were present agree in the the same relation of what was said and done; and, which was worse, not in the same Interpretation of the meaning of what was comprehended in writing. An Agreement was made if that can be called an Agreement in which nobody meant what others believed he did."

General of y^e^ horse had those 12 troops w^ch^ y^e^ King rais'd, quarter'd in y^e^ towns thereabouts; & because we lay near y^e^ border, we had a guard of foot w^ch^ did constantly keep sentinal, & some peices of ordinance mount'd near to y^e^ house; & some squadrons of horse did guard y^e^ river Tweed where it was to be pass'd; & every night kept watch. Upon Ascention day y^e^ King set forward from New Castle: a day or two after this, y^e^ general of y^e^ army y^e^ earle of Arundle began his march w^th^ 7 or 8 regiments of foot, towards Gossack, where they first did encamp; but in their march thither they had so ill provid'd y^m^selves w^th^ victuals y^t^ they were ready to mutiny, w^ch^ forc'd y^e^ Soulgiers to do hurt to y^e^ countrys as they went, not forbearing to take w^t^somever they could. Att Gossack they tarry'd some few days, & march'd from thence to y^e^ banck of y^e^ river Tweed, & made 3 entrenchments in Hockley fields; y^e^ river Tweed being a defense unto y^e^ Camp on one side, here were quatter'd y^e^ regiments of foot, & y^e^ Kings Pavilion & y^e^ Noblemens Tents were quatter'd upon y^t^ part of y^e^ Camp w^ch^ is call'd Yearford-more. Thus were we quarter'd, y^e^ horse at Twizell, & about Twizell, & y^e^ foot in y^e^ Camp at Hockley: only y^e^ privy

Clarendon, p. 123. Vol. i. Part. 1. ed. 1707. This edition is referred to throughout; but wherever anything in the quoted parts was suppressed or altered it has been restored from the new edition containing the suppressed and altered passages.

Chambermen's houses & y^e^ Noblemen's were quarter'd in tents w^th^in y^e^ Camp or at Barwick. All this while y^e^ Scots were not a witt daint'd at this preparation, nor came their any of y^m^ to make submission, but rather made their preparation to resist, according as we came nearer to y^m^. And no manner of hurt done, but y^t^ one of y^e^ Leutenant General Gowrings Troop, being quarter'd at Wark & putting over Tweed, not meaning any hurt, was encountr'd by some Scots; after some words pass'd between y^m^ they both gave fire, & a Scotchman shot in y^e^ neck, w^ch^ they thought had been kill'd, yet afterwards did recover. We could never understand w^t^ preparation they made against us, untill they were seen from our camp (w^ch^ y^e^ King w^th^ a prospective Glass discover'd) to encamp y^m^selves at Duns.* At this town we had been a month before, w^th^ 7 Troops of horse & 3 Dragoons Troops, upon intelligence y^t^ y^e^ King had of a general muster to be held there by y^e^ L^ds^ of y^e^ covenant, w^ch^ they having gotten notice of, came not, only some few soulgiers we mett agoing to it: all of w^ch^ did profess their allegiance to y^e^ King, & y^t^ they would never take up arms against him; whereupon we deliver'd to y^m^ proclamations of grace & pardon

* "Have not I (said the king) good Intelligence, that the Rebels can march with their Army and Encamp within sight of mine, and I not have a word of it till the Body of their Army give the Alarm?" Rushworth, p. 937, vol. ii. part 2.

to all such as would submitt & come unto y^e^ King. At Hesley about 12 miles up y^e^ river from our camp, y^e^ Scots had made some works of defence, & had mount'd some peices of ordinance upon y^e^ river; whereupon y^e^ King having notice, (tho much abus'd by his intelligence), sends my L^d^ of Holland w^th^ 1300 horse & 2500 foot, w^th^ S^r^. W^m^. Pennyman's regiment, w^ch^ lay at Cornwell in their way, w^th^ attention [intention] to Slight their works & keep y^m^ for y^e^ King: On Munday in Whitsunday week, was y^e^ day this thing should be done, & accordingly preparation was made, & at Wark both horse and foot pass'd y^e^ river Tweed: y^e^ foot were forc'd to wade y^e^ river above knee deep, w^ch^ delay'd so much time y^t^ our horse had out march'd y^m^ 2 or 3 miles, so y^t^ coming w^th^in a little of Kelsey we could perceive some horse Troops of Scots attend us, or rather give notice to y^e^ town of our approach; for they were not above 2 or 3 troops, as it appear'd to us; so y^t^ as soon as we came upon y^e^ hill, nor far of y^e^ town, we made a stand untill y^e^ foot & ordinance were come up to us; & in y^e^ mean time my L^d^ of Holland sends unto y^e^ town, to know their answer, & wherefore they should fortify y^m^ selves against y^e^ King, & how they had broke their word w^th^ y^e^ King, altho' they promis'd not to come w^th^ any fource w^th^in ten miles of y^e^ border; whereupon they send their answer y^t^ that they had not broke their promise w^th^ the King, more y^n^ he had broke w^th^ y^m^, who promis'd not to send any fource

into their Country: but they should do their endeavour to send y^m^ back again; no sooner was y^e^ trumpeter return'd but we might perceive y^m^ marching towards us from y^e^ town, & from a wood a Quarter of a mile beyond y^e^ Town, to about y^e^ number of 8000 as we could judge y^m^ to be: here we consider'd w^t^ to do; we could not assault y^m^ as we were, our foot being so far behind: & if they had (could they) come to us, they had not been fit to fight, being weary w^th^ their march & w^th^ y^e^ heat of y^e^ day. If we had skirmish'd w^th^ our horse against y^t^ part w^ch^ was next unto us, they had their ordinances so plant'd y^t^ we could not come near y^m^, but be gall'd w^th^ it, & on y^e^ other side there was some marrish ground & hedges w^ch^ hindred us from coming near, so y^t^ order was given y^t^ we should march back again w^th^out medling at all w^th^ y^m^.* The next day after this, my wife sent post my Butler Tho.

* "It was in the beginning of August [June] when the nights are very short, and, as soon as the Sun rises, the Days for the most part hotter than is reasonably expected from the Climate; and by the testimony of all men that day was the hottest that had been known. The Horse had out-marched the Foot, which by reason of the excessive heat was not able to use great expedition—and so, wearied and tired by the length of the march and more by the heat of the Weather, which was intolerable, they returned to the Camp where the King was." Clarendon, pp. 718-9, vol. i. part 1.

In this passage, instead of *August*, which is printed in the new edition as well as in the old, should be read, *June*.

Adamson unto me, being desirous to see me, for she was in a great fit of sickness. I instantly took post, & w^th^out resting, in 24 hours, I got to her & found her well again. After this I return'd again to Twizel, where our quarters where, w^n^ I had concluded w^th^ M^r^. Rodes about y^t^ suit I had w^th^ him upon a quare impedit.* M^r^. Rodes was institut'd upon a presentation from y^e^ Prebend, M^r^. Smelt, & now upon two or three Suits, w^n^ I was in a fair way to cast him in it, he sought to compound w^th^ me, & was desirous to take a presentation from me, & to pay me all y^e^ charges I had been at, if so be it might put an end to all differences. A former presentation, I had given to M^r^. Ascough & w^th^ out his consent I could not, so at last y^e^ agrement was, M^r^. Rodes was to pay me for charges 110*l.* whereof I gave M^r^. Ascough, son to M^r^. Ascough, £30; & M^r^. Rodes thereupon took his presentation from me. If I had not mov'd in Court, to have my declaration mend'd, I had been absolutely cast in y^e^ suite upon this point; I declar'd y^t^ Mr. Rodes came in upon resignation & not upon y^e^ death of y^e^ Incumbent; he pleads y^t^ he came in upon y^e^ death & not upon resignation for all y^t^ we had a Copy of y^e^ presentation & institution, all w^ch^ mention'd it to be upon resignation; but here was y^n^ y^e^ danger; Rodes goes to Durham to Smelt, & upon

* Abraham Rhodes was Vicar of Knaresborough from 1636 to 1642.

a resignation from Broadbelt,* who was y^e^ incumbent, & out of hopes of recovery, getts a presentation upon Broadbelts resignation; & before he got w^th^ it to Chester to y^e^ Bishop for institution Broadbelt dy'd: so y^t^ y^e^ resignation being not good untill y^e^ Bishop had approv'd of it, & the incumbent dying before this, in y^e^ like case it hath been adjudg'd, y^t^ such an institution was upon death & not upon resignation, My wife being very well recover'd, I return'd back to Twizell to my L^d^. of Holland's Quarters & came y^e^ very day† before y^e^ full agreement between y^e^ King Nobility of Scotland. I had but a very short time of being a Soulgier, w^ch^ hath not last'd above 6 weeks, & I like it as a commendable way of breeding for a young Gentleman, if they consort y^m^selves w^th^ such as are civil, & y^e^ quarrel lawfull: for as idleness is y^e^ nurse of all evil, infeebling y^e^ parts both of mind and body, This employment of a soulgiers is contrary unto it: for it greatly improves y^m^, by enabling his body to labour, his mind to watchfulness, & so, by a a contempt of all things but y^t^ employment he is in, he shall not much care how hard he lyeth, nor how meanly he fareth;—whereas y^e^ independance of a private life, makes one insolent, & not easily brought under subjection. This business of a soulgier will

* William Broadbelt was Vicar of Knaresborough from 1616 to 1636.

† i. e. June 17. See above.

learn him to be dutiful & obedient to his commanders wthout reply: how equal & just it is: it makes one not over fond of this life, but willing to resign it, whether of both shall happen, death or life, being exercis'd in y^{e} continual peril of Life. There hapn'd a sad accident in our Troop, going to exercise one Morning, upon Heighton More, not far from Twizel as we were put into rank by Cap^{t} Barkley; one of my L^{d} Lovelasses men, pulling down the cock of his Pistol, gave fire to the wheele & shot the man before him cleare thro' y^{e} head piece into y^{e} head, so y^{t} he fell back dead upon his horse. In my return home w^{n} all our fources were dismiss'd I mett Tho: Hinks post wth y^{e} like message from my wife, of her relaps again into her old dissease; so I left mine own horses & took post, & at my coming home her fit was past, & she pritty well recover'd, & so hath continu'd untill now y^{e} 10 of Sept^{r} y^{t} she hath begun again, & in some more extremity y^{n} y^{e} former: It did at first puzell y^{e} Physitians to understand w^{t} she ail'd; they thought it had been y^{e} cholick, y^{n} y^{e} Cardiaca Passio, y^{n} y^{e} Jaundize, y^{n} y^{e} Spleen: & every one gave her according as the judg'd y^{e} disease. D^{r} Parker gave her a vomit; but after this she had fainting fits in her stomach, & after that her pain increasing, I sent for D^{r} Micklethawte & he judgd it to be y^{e} Jaundize, & thereupon administred a drink for y^{e} Jaudise, w^{ch} iustantly eas'd her pain, w^{ch} was so violent, y^{t} for 2 days she was scarce able to sit up, continually having

one to hold her side, w^ch^ did a little ease y^e^ violence of it; w^ch^ made her she could not go upright, but as it were doubl'd together; but y^e^ jaundice troubl'd her but a little, for in 2 or 3 days she had no symtombs of y^e^ Jaindise, but yet her pain did not altogether leave her; she felt a heaviness in her side, and a fume to rise out of her left side, w^ch^ troubl'd her head. She had before this last fitt symptoms w^ch^ confirm y^t^ her Malady is from y^e^ Spleen; whereupon hearing of Dr. Frires a Physitian of London, of his being in y^e^ Country, I sent unto him at York my brother S^r^. Arthur Ingram being about to come to my house upon his return to Temple Newsome w^th^ my sister & my wifes Sister: they brought y^e^ D^r^ w^th^ y^m^ whose cheif art it is (as he saith) to cure y^e^ spleen; y^e^ directions y^t^ he gave was, 1^st^. to take 2 or 3 steel pils for 4 or 5 mornings, & drink after y^m^ a dish of thin broath w^th^ Cream of Tartar in it, dissolving one of y^e^ papers of Tartar in y^e^ broath for one draught. Then for a week take at 6 or 7 a clock in y^e^ morning, & 4 in y^e^ evening, 4 or 5 spoonfulls of y^e^ steel w^th^ exercise, & w^th^ degrees acend to 9 or 12 of y^e^ Rubar pouder. After y^t^ heat wine, & drink after it some bear. He gave her Pils of Castor, to take two of y^m^ each other night bedward against fumes; & this course * she was to continue a month or 40 days. He direct'd her to send for an Ounce of Holland

* A few lines of the MS. minutely detailing the Course

pouder to keep by her, whereof to take y^e^ weight of a groat or sixpence in posset ale some Mornings instead of y^e^ Rubard pouder. Also he direct'd her to drink her beare hot at Meales, first boyl'd, y^n^ scum'd, putting to it a sprig or 2 of Seawormwood, to strengthen y^e^ Stomach. This man is of great fame for his skill & cures, w^ch^ he doth not a little brag off, who tells you of his £50 & £100 cures; how he had been w^th^ y^e^ King at Barrick, & afterwards went to y^e^ assembly at Edenborough, & so made a progress thro' Scotland. In his return he stay'd in this Country, having divers of y^e^ best in this country to be his patients. My wife in this her sickness did greatly fear her recovery, y^e^ pain did so weaken her, & her spirits so much decay'd y^t^ she expect'd no other y^n^ Death, & so did she express herself to me & others. As she lay awaken in y^e^ night she would spend y^e^ whole time in discoursing of her latter end, making a recollection of all her sins, & working upon herself a hearty sorrow for y^m^; & finding y^e^ apprehension of death terrible, she would say she desir'd nothing so much, as y^t^ God would give her a willingness to die w^n^soever he should call for her; & y^t^ she might attain to it, she would make use of all y^e^ promises w^ch^ confirm her faith & cause her to see a vanity in all earthly things. Thus hath God been pleas'd to turn all for y^e^ better: it is he y^t^ hath wound'd us & he

are here at intervals suppressed: as also are a few lines of medical detail a little further on.

will heal us: it is he y^t^ hath smitten us, & he will bind us up; w^n^ we think ourselves lost, y^n^ doth he show himself & comfort us, w^n^ we are most of all overwhelm'd w^th^ sorrow: &, though y^e^ fitt be great yet it is not lasting; tho' sorrow be for a night, yet joy comes in y^e^ morning. Si forte, sero vespere, fletibus Vultus rigamus, mox redit aurea Cum luce risusq, & Jacentes exilarans animos Voluptas.—

The 17 of October in y^e^ year 1639, J^n^. Gowland y^e^ Carpenter took down y^e^ gable end of y^e^ Chapple, w^ch^ was of brick, & set up another of wood; y^e^ weight of it, (y^e^ foundation being nought) had almost brought down y^e^ whole end of y^t^ building: it hath 3 times been a mending; my father in his time caus'd a Buttress to be rais'd against y^e^ end of it; & y^t^ not altogether helping* it, I had J^n^. David, an ingenious workman, but a Drunkard & one y^t^ went in his apparell more like a bedlam y^n^ a workman: he underhiv'd y^e^ sides of y^e^ building w^th^ long peices of Timber driven fast w^th^ wedges, & binds y^e^ Gable end to y^e^ roof w^th^ bolts & great peices of iron, w^ch^ I have taken down, & think by Lightning y^e^ Walls of so much as y^e^ gable end bears, to prevent y^e^ fast decay of it; or if this help not, it is y^e^ sooner taken down. The next day after this, my wife & I and my daughter Barbara, made a Journey to see y^t^ rotten house at Scriving, & to order for y^e^ repair of it. We lay at it

* We preserve this use of the word in "I cannot help it."

2 nights, having neither bed nor furniture but w^t^ we borrow'd of my Tenants: Ch. Maye hanging Blank^ets^ for Curtains, & so making as good a shift as we could; we lay in y^t^ Chamber w^ch^ is call'd my L^d^. of Northumberlands Chamber,* he y^t^ was beheâd'd for raising a Rebellion in y^e^ North in y^e^ reign of Queen Elizabeth, being y^e^ first y^t^ lay in it after y^e^ building of it, coming to see my grandmother his Sister. I have agreed w^th^ George Squier a freemason, to repair & altar it, having intend'd to come into y^e^ house to be where y^t^ building is w^ch^ was intend'd for a chapple, being y^e^ west end of y^e^ house; & make y^t^ to be y^e^ Hall w^ch^ is now the Parlor, & y^t^ y^e^ kitchen w^ch^ is now y^e^ Hall; & he is to take down y^t^ side w^ch^ joyn'd to y^e^ tower, leaving only so much as to make a Rome for a larder w^ch^ now is in length 16 yards; but they are about taking it down to make it not above 5 or 6 yards. I make my stairs at y^t^ end w^ch^ was intend'd for a chappel w^th^ purpose y^t^ if hereafter I should add to it these stairs should serve both for y^e^ new & old building. I have intend'd it a double house w^ch^ I mean to joyn to y^e^ chappel end, to make a square to y^e^ old; y^t^ side to be 24 yds: y^e^ coming into y^e^ house to be y^e^ middle of it, y^e^ Hall to be in y^t^ part w^ch^ lyeth to y^e^ Guarden upon y^e^ West; y^e^ Parlor to y^t^ part w^ch^ lyeth to y^e^ north to y^e^ Court, w^ch^ by y^t^ means will lay y^e^ Parlor nearer to y^e^ rest of y^e^ house. Not only

* It still remains, though entirely modernized.

servant men will have their severall inventions, as y^t w^ch pleases one will not please another, but many times y^e same man will find his Judgment to altar & be displeas'd w^th y^e same thing w^ch heretofore he did approve off. I have had y^e experience of this in my self, about those little alterations I have made at Red house; w^n ye coming into a Rome has not pleas'd me, I have broken y^e wall where I have found there had been a door before; so y^t w^tever one doth let him resolve to please himself, for it may be it shall not please another; Diversos diversa juvant, non omnibus annis omnia conveniunt: & not only should we please ourselves in y^t w^ch we build, but do it at a time w^n we may best enjoy it; as one saith young men should make their preparations & old men enjoy y^m, not put y^m of to our last age w^n our studys should rather be a contemplation of our approaching death, how we might best, w^th y^e most ease, leave this world; & not like him, who w^n he is a going to his grave puts marble out to work, to build brave houses, unmindfull of his burial he should have,* but considering y^e uncertainty of our lives, y^t none can say how long, or how short a time, he shall live. This contemplation is unseasonable at

* Tu secanda marmora
Locas, sub ipsum funus, et sepulcri
Immemor, struis domos.

Hor. Od. II. 18.

no time, & so should our studys & designs have always a feeling of age, & not extend y^m^selves too far. Plus superest viatici quam viæ. A little thing sufficeth nature both for diet & habitation, & those buildings w^ch^ we aim at, serve more for magnificens y^n^ necessary use. That w^ch^ I have done in matter of building is not much, but here & there a peice, w^ch^ one summer hath begun & finish'd: I should never endure nor have y^e^ patience to begin a tedious work; & I shall ever disuade my son from affecting building, unless it be w^th^ great moderation. Imponit finem sapiens in rebus honestis, and much more in y^e^ vanity of building, since I have observ'd how it hath done so ill w^th^ many: some after having laiden y^e^ foundation of an house, have faint'd under it, & so left it; others having build'd it, selleth it, as he who selleth his horse to defray y^e^ charges of it; others, conceit'd of their invention, are not at rest till they vent it; & not finding answerable are weary of it, & will chuse to live any where rather y^n^ there; like one y^t^ takes pains to get by heart a song, & y^n^ his pains to learn it shall dull his delight to sing it. But I am taken off my intention of building for a while, w^th^ y^e^ preparations I make for a Journey to London: my wife not perceiving any recovery of her health after so many tryalls w^th^ physitians of our country desires to go to London were y^e^ best are. We took our Journey y^e^ 2^d^ of December leaving all those provisions we had made for our accustomed keeping of

Christmas; & in 12 days we got to London, but we rest'd at M^r. Capell's house in Hartfordshire for a day, & had tarri'd longer for to refresh my children, my son Thomas & my daughter Barbara, w^ch we carry'd w^th us, but an unexpect'd accident hindred us, coming thither w^n y^e gentlewoman of y^e house big w^th child, expect'd every hour to be deliver'd. I presum'd of a welcome from y^e Master of y^e house; for y^t intimate acquaintance & league of friendship y^t was between us, w^n we were fellow pupils at Cambridge. My wife at great S^t. Hellens in Bishopgate where we lay, sent for D^r Fryars of whom she had taken physick lately in y^e Country, & to him she joyn'd D^r. Geford: y^e course they took was y^e same y^t D^r Fryar had us'd, w^n he was in the Country; they gave her physick, but no great amends she found by their rules. The physitian commonly favours himself more y^n y^e patient, and is more sure to find y^t w^ch shall do him good from y^e patient he undertakes, y^n can y^e patient be sure to find any good from him; therefore it concerns him to extoll his skill above any experience he hath. He professeth to cure all manner of diseases & his practise is but his tryall, he never attains it; & if his practise were upon himself I should y^e rather venture; but he would not pay for his skill at so dear a rate, tho' he fools us to venture on him: & as it is said of Plato; who thought it necessary y^t he y^t would undertake y^e profession of physick should first pass

thro' all such diseases as he will adventure to cure in others, & y^t it were reason they had y^e Gout y^mselves if they will know how to cure it in others; otherwise they may be said to sell medicinal Drugs, but y^t they are physitians no man can truly say; & as one saith, they make such descriptions of our infirmities, as doth a town cryer, who cryeth a lost horse, or a Dog, & describeth his stature, his hair & ears, w^th other Marks, & tokens; but bring him to either, & they know him not; they promise much but perform little; & less y^n all other arts do they show y^e effects of w^t they do profess. After she had given over D^r. Fryer she was told of a skilfull woman for y^e Spleen; she was direct'd by S^r. Lyonell Tallmuth * [Talmash] who was himself a skilfull surgeon, but did advise us to use y^e help of this woman, who they call M^rs. Kelway wife to one of this L^d Keepers secretaries; she practis'd Chimistry & out of y^t art had extract'd certain oyles & salts, w^ch she apply'd to all diseases; & having made it her study for 20 years together, & w^th much labour and cost attaining to this medicine, she persuaded her self it must do all things; she would give it inward for any

* Lionel Talmash of Helmingham co. suff: ancestor of the Earls of Dysart, was created Baronet by King James I, May 22, 1611, being the twelfth in the whole order: he had a son of his own name, who succeded him, and was M.P. for Orford, and is probably the person mentioned here.

dissease, & apply it outward to y^e^ side for y^e^ spleen, sewing up a certain quantity thereof in a Taffity bagg, so applying it upon y^e^ spleen, but after a months Tryall my wife finding no good at all, she gave her over, bestowing on her for her pains a Diamont ring. Old S^r^. Arthur Ingram had had y^e^ like tryall of her medicine for y^e^ spleen but no better success. At last after some tryalls w^th^ D^r^. Basker-field & M^r^. Ruthen a Scottish Gentleman of y^e^ family of y^e^ L^d^ Gowers, who had made it his study in y^e^ art of Physick to administer help to others, but not for any gain to himself, at last she was a patient of Theodorie Meene [Mayerne] y^e^ King's Physitian, & from him she hath reap'd y^e^ most benefit for her health.

[1640.]

The 23 of April anno 1640 began y^e^ court of Par-liament * to sit w^ch^ was so unfortunate y^t^ it lasted but 3 weeks w^th^out having any thing done to content either king or country. The house of commons sat to advise how to have their grievances redressed, & y^e^ King by my L^d^ Keeper, whom he had lately creat'd Baron, did signify to both y^e^ houses y^e^ great need he had of supplys to maintain his warrs against his rebellious subjects of Scotland; this held y^e^ house

* This Parliament was dissolved on May 5: the Lord Keeper was Sir John Finch who had been created Lord Finch of Ford-wich on the 7th of April.

of Commons in Debate whether they should not represent unto y^e^ King their grievances, & to obtain a redress thereof, before their giving of subsidie, or y^t^ they should supply y^e^ King first & take his word for y^e^ latter, w^ch^ he did largely promise by my L^d^ Keeper, y^t^ he would reform all their just grievances.* These they had drawn into 3 principal heads.* That is 1^st^ greivances concerning matter of religion. 2^dly^. Property of goods. 3^dly^ Priveledge of Parliament. But cheifly they insist'd upon y^t^ of Shipmony,† w^ch^ y^e^

* "Which Grievances may be reduced to three Heads. The First are those grievances which during these eleven years interval of Parliaments are against the Liberties and Priviledges of Parliament. The second are Innovations in matters of Religion. The Third, Grievances against the Propriety of our Goods." Pym's Speech, April 17, 1640. [given in Rushworth, p. 1131, et seqq. vol. ii. part 2.] In which may be read a very artful attempt to confound the Spiritual and Temporal Authority of Bishops, in order to the destruction of both.

† "Having no ready money to set out a Navy, nor means to get any, he was forced to make use of a little *Treasure-trove* (if I may call it) for which he was beholding to his Attorney-General Noy, who incouraged him to lay a Tax upon the People by the dubious Authority of an antiquated and (as it was afterwards called) Arbitrary Law, whereby the Kings of England heretofore had power given them to impose a Naval Tax, in case of eminent danger by Sea: A Law, which at the first making was judged to be as reasonable as necessary, being intended to prevent the frequent Incursions of the Danes before the Norman Conquest: but all Fears of that Nature having vanished so long since, to revive it now was looked on like the

house had vot'd to be absolutely against Law, if y^e^ king had not suddenly dissolv'd y^e^ house of Parliament. Upon y^e^ breaking of y^e^ Parliament there was a search made in y^e^ truncks & pockets of some Parliament men,* yea of some of [the] Lords, to discover w^t^ letters they could find, but nothing was found: & after y^t^, my brother Bellasyse y^e^ Knight of our Shire, & S^r^ John Hotham, were committ'd to y^e^ fleet for their undutifull Speeches to y^e^ King at Councill board, as they serv'd them for not answering directly w^t^ it was they spoke in Parliament at such a time in answer to such & such. I was chosen a Burges of Knasborough at this Parliament: w^ch^ I obtain'd w^th^ much ado thro' y^e^ diligence of my man Tho. Richardson, to whom I committ'd y^e^ whole carriage of it, & went not down myself to be at y^e^ Election, w^ch^ gave my competitors S^r^ Richard Hutton & H. Benson †

drawing an old rusty Sword, which gave such a wound to the Liberty of the Subject, that though it were not very deep rankled to that degree, as notwithstanding the many good applications afterward to heel it, the inflammation could not be taken off till it turned to a Gangreen." Sir Winston Churchill's Divi Britannici. p. 343.

* Lord Brooke's Study, Cabinets and Pockets were searched for Papers: Sir John Hotham, Henry Bellasyse, and John Crewe, afterwards Lord Crewe, were committed, the two first to the Fleet, the last to the Tower. Sir John Hotham sat for Beverley, Mr. Bellasyse for Yorkshire, and Mr. Crewe for Northamptonshire.

† Mr. Benson was Sir Henry's Colleague.

y^e^ more advantage against me: but my man's care prevent'd their subtile Plots. He hath serv'd me ever since my father dy'd, being a man of great integrity & of indefatigable pains and industry who formerly had serv'd my father. I do trust him w^th^ y^e^ receiving of all my rents, & w^t^ monys he pays to me I give him an acquittance of it, & but once a year receive his accounts. I never yet had cause to doubt of any false deeling: for he always would make his accounts streight to a farthing: if he did misreckon he took y^e^ loss to himself. If I had lett slip any business he serv'd me as a remembrancer to put me in mind: whom I us'd (for y^t^ little business I had as a Sollicitor) to solicit for me & my grounds to lett & sell.

The 28 of June we took our journey down from M^rs^ Sandwithy's house in Lincolnes inn fields by y^e^ Temple Court, whose house I had taken at *22l.* y^e^ Quarter for y^e^ 1^st^ Quarter, & afterward at *40s.* y^e^ weeke for y^e^ rest of y^e^ time. Two days before our coming out of London we were invited to supper to my L^d^ Hollands at Kinsington, at w^ch^ church I had been marry'd to my wife about 9 years agoe. Here, besides y^e^ entertainment w^ch^ we had, I was much taken w^th^ y^e^ curiosity of y^e^ house; & from y^t^ house I took a conceite of making a thorough house in part of Red-house w^ch^ now I build; & y^t^ by placing ye Dores so one against another & making at each end a Balcony y^t^ one may see cleare thro' y^e^

house.* Yet I may by this see y^e^ vanity of all worldly things, which men do so much rest upon. Let a man propose to himself never so great matters, yet shall another come, y^t^ may exceed him & go beyond him: if he build his house like Nebuchodonosor, y^t^ he may say, is not this great Babell y^t^ I have built? if another y^t^ shall exceed him come, he shall think all y^t^ vain, w^ch^ he hath done or made: as y^t^ w^ch^ cannot be paralel'd, if another come y^t^ doth excell it, while he glories in it, it at last fails him of his end & doth become vain unto him. Id perfectum cui nihil addi potest; w^ch^ no finite thing can attain to; but is of y^t^ condition to receive some addition to w^t^ it hath. We understand this in y^e^ Temple of Jerusalem, w^ch^ 2^d^ building did exceed y^e^ first; & this our Arch-Bishop aim'd at in y^e^ repairing of Pauls church, to make it more glorious y^n^ before. We see an emulation in y^e^ structure of our houses, if we behold y^t^ at Tibbalds, & y^t^ of my L^d^ of Suffolk's at Audley end. So, in this country my L^d^ Everie's at Maulton; my L^d^ Savil's at Howley: S^r^ Arthur Ingram's at Temple Newson.

We may see a vanity also even in y^e^ raising of armys, & fource of men, as this army w^ch^ y^e^ King hath rais'd to subdue his Rebells in Scotland; but yet we only feel the pressure of y^m^ y^t^ have y^m^ billet'd amongst us; but we hope of some releif upon y^e^ answer of our petition to y^e^ King, but w^t^ (I say) is

* See note at the end of the Diary.

this our army in comparison of y^e^ french army? or of the Emperors against the Sweeds; or w^t^ are all these in comparison of y^e^ great Turks army, who went w^th^ an army of above 500,000 w^n^ he y^e^ last year took Babilon from the Persians; y^n^ how can we glory or boast of our striength, w^n^ it comes so far short of y^e^ puissance of our neighbours? or if we do, in vain we do it, if we come to take experience of it. Abbut the 3^d^ of July we got home to Red house returning w^th^ all those we went out w^th^ excepting one Boy whom I left to be a Prentise, a son of widow Barkers of Scriven; & in his stead I hir'd a Cook w^ch^ I brought down w^th^ me at my coming home. I found my building here, & at Scriving in good forwardness, y^e^ first flower being laid. I also committ'd my Son Thomas into y^e^ Charge^t^ & Tuition of M^r^. Cheny whom I intend shall be his schoolmaster, & now he doth begin to teach him his primer; I intend he shall begin to spell, & Read Latin together w^th^ his english, & to learn to speak it, more by practise of speaking y^n^ by rule; he could y^e^ last year, before he was 4 years old, tell y^e^ Latin words for the parts of his body & of his cloaths, & I find him duller to learn this year y^n^ y^e^ last, w^ch^ would discourage one, but y^t^ I think y^e^ cause to be his too much minding Play, w^ch^ takes off his mind from his book; therefore they do ill y^t^ do foment & cherish y^t^ humour in a child, & by inventing new sports increase his desire to play, w^ch^ causeth a great aversion to their book;

& their mind being at first season'd wth vanity, will not easily loose y^{e} relish of it; I will make Tryall of this way Teaching my Son Latin, y^{t} is wthout Rule or grammer; & herein I do follow y^{e} Pattern of Michael de Montaigne a frenchman who as he himself saith was so taught * Lating, y^{t} he could at 6 years old speak more Latin y^{n} French. But I want y^{t} means w^{ch} he had, having those about him y^{t} could speake nothing but Latin; him I do take to be my Pattern herein of educating my son. I do likewise take his advise in Registering my daily accidents w^{ch} happens in my house. He saith his father observ'd this order, in his house; he had one man y^{t} kept y^{e} book of household affairs, wherein were registr'd all expences, Payments, Gifts, Bargans, & Sales. Another man, y^{t} was his Clark, kept a journal Book, wherein he day by day registr'd y^{e} memories of y^{e} historys of his house; a thing pleasant to read, w^{n} time began to wear out y^{e} Remembrance of y^{m}; as to set down w^{n} such a work began & end'd, & w^{t} way & course was taken, w^{t} accidents happn'd, how long it continued; likewise to sett down all our voyages, where & how long we were from home, our marryages, who dy'd & w^{n} y^{e} receiving of good or bad tydins, who came, who went, changing or removing houshold officers, taking of new, discharging of our servants, & such like; such a Book had King

* Essays, pp. 240-1. vol. i. translated by Cotton, ed. 1711.

Assurus, wherein y^t^ treason w^ch^ Mordecai had discovered to be plott'd against y^e^ King was set down, w^ch^ he caus'd to be read before him. Edixit afferri librum commentariorum, cronica, quæ fuerunt lecta coram eo. Hereupon I follow'd y^e^ advise of Michael de Montaigne to sett down in this Book such accidents as befall me, not y^t^ I make my study of it, but rather a recreation at vacant times, w^th^out observing any time, method, or order in my wrighting, or rather scribbling; et quicquid in Buccam venerit effutire.*

* The passage in Montaigne to which Sir Henry alludes must be this. "My Father in his Œconomical Government had this order (which I know how to commend, but by no means to imitate,) which was, that besides the Day-Book, or Memorial of the Household-Affairs, where the small Accounts, Payments and Disbursements, which do not require a Secretary's hand, were entred, and which a Bayliff always had in Custody; he ordered him whom he kept to write for him to keep a Paper Journal, and in it to set down all the remarkable occurrences, and Day by Day the Memoirs of the Histories of his house; very pleasant to look over, when Time begins to wear Things out of Memory, and very useful sometimes to put us out of doubt, when such a Thing was begun, when ended, what Courses were debated on, what conclud'd; our Voyages, Absences, Marriages, and Deaths, the Reception of good or ill News; the change of principal Servants, and the like. An ancient custom, which I think it would not be amiss for every one to revive in his own house; and I find I did very foolishly in neglecting the same." Essays, p. 315. vol. i.

The Reader will observe that this Diary is written throughout very much in Montaigne's manner.

* The 28 of July, being the Assize week, I went to York, where y^e^ Gentlemen of y^e^ Country intend'd to meet to consult together of an answer to return y^e^ King, who had sent to desire y^t^ his soulgiers y^t^ lay billet'd in y^e^ country might be mantained by y^e^ Country for 14 days: hereupon they petition'd & plead'd their inability, & hop'd y^e^ King would lay no such burdens upon y^m^ considering they so willingly & chearfully had served him y^e^ last year, in w^ch^ service & other militant expences they had expended a 100,000. But not w^th^ standing y^e^ Country must do it, and y^e^ King promises to repay it back again, so y^t^ y^e^ country shall be no looser by it. †After this y^e^ King being at York, sends to speak w^th^ all y^e^ Gentlemen & y^e^ substance of y^t^ he spoke was to assure y^m^ y^e^ mony should be paid, & likewise to know of y^m^ how soon they could raise y^e^ trainbands, for he intended to lead y^m^ & be their General. The Gen-

* "The Kings Army in their March to Newcastle in the Month of July [1640] quartered much in the County of York; and being Billetted upon the Inhabitants grew to be a great Burthen to the Country: whereupon the Gentry of the said County of York assembled at the Assizes at York on the 28th of July, agreed upon this petition following." Rushworth, p. 1214. part 2. vol. ii. This petition was sent to the King at London. The King arrived at York, August 23rd.

† This was the 24th of August, the day after his Majesty's arrival: and on this occasion the second petition was presented, the secret history of which is here given by Sir Henry.

tlemen met again & petition'd y^e^ King & desir'd leave to petition him, for my * L^d^ Deputy y^t^ now is grown a stranger to his country, tho' heretofore a Patriott; seem to quarrel at y^m^ y^t^they had not address'd his petition to him; & moreover they petition'd his majesty y^t^ he would be pleased to advance 14 days pay before hand, otherwise they could not get them to stir; but y^e^ King was so far from giving, as he expect'd y^e^ Country should pay y^e^ Trainbands y^tselves, & wish'd them to meet together & our L^d^ President y^e^ L^d^ Deputy to consider how y^e^ mony may be rais'd. The Gentlemen had drawn another petition,† but y^e^ King would not receive it, being advertis'd of it by my L^d^ Deputy, who was desir'd to prefer it at our meeting in y^e^ common Hall: y^e^ L^d^ Deputy seem'd utterly to dislike y^t^ part of our petition, where we desir'd y^e^ King would call a Parliament; seeing he knew y^t^ he intend'd it, & uncivill to anticipate him in point of time; that w^ch^ my L^d^ Deputy spoke to us for y^e^ most part, was in extolling

* The Earl of Strafford; Lord Deputy of Ireland, and therefore necessarily absent from his County.

† Rushworth says that "the King called the Yorkshire Gentry together and propounded unto them [Septr. 10. 1640] the Payment of the trained Bands for two months, which proposition they took into present consideration, &c. and on the 11th of September returned answer" agreeing to the King's proposal: but that this petition for a Parliament was deliver'd in their answer, by themselves, and their answer "was well taken by his Majesty."

himself, in termes of comparison, before any other; w^ch^ he seem'd to do, because he saw himself slighted by his countrymen. The 1.^st^ of September I set forward to Hull w^th^ my wife & children, (except my son Henry w^ch^ I left here at home) & from thence to Worlaby to my brother John Bellasyse house; y^e^ reason of my wifes remove thither was her own safety, after the news was brought of y^e^ Scots taking Newcastle, & repelling y^e^ King's forces, w.^ch^ he sent to stop their passage at Newburn.* Y^e^ 28 of August [September] we went from Hull to Barton in a passage boat, & having y^e^ Wind to cross upon us, made us sail w^th^ more difficulty & danger, & as every present evil seems y^e^ most unsupportable, so y^e^ fear y^t^ my wife sought to avoid seems now less y^n^ y^t^ she was in by reason of y^e^ roughness of y^e^ water; & y^t^ w^ch^ made my wife y^e^ more apprehensive of danger, was y^e^ trouble wee had in getting out of y^e^ harbour, among the boats y^t^ lay there; & being clear of y^m^

* Newburn is five miles and a half from Newcastle. This disgraceful defeat, caused by the incapacity of Lord Conway the King's General, gave the Scotch Rebels possession of Newcastle and Durham, and caused the treaty of Ripon. Clarendon says, "But it seem'd afterwards to be a full vindication to the honour of the nation that from this infamous Defeat at Newburn, to the last entire Conquest of Scotland by Cromwell, the Scots army never perform'd one signal action against the English, but were always beaten by great inequality of numbers, as oft as they approached to any encounter, if they were not supported by English Troops."

we unfortunately fell foul upon another ship y^t^ was coming in, w^ch^ bore us under her, & broke a little of the forepart of our boat, w^ch^ set my wife & her sister my Lady Vavasour into such a fright as they ceas'd not weeping & praying, till we came a shoer at Barton; & my son Tho. was so affrighted w^th^ y^e^ waters y^t^ he gave not over crying, & cry'd so vehemently as if he would have burst himself, & prayed as heartily. His mother had tought him to say his prayers, but I dare say he never pray'd to God before. After they got to shoar I left y^m^ there, having y^e^ benefit of my Lady Ingrams coach (my wife's sister) who had gone before to carry y^m^ to Worlaby & came back to Hull & from thence y^e^ next day home, in y^e^ company of my L^d^ Duke of Lenox, who went by Beverly to see the old Minster & Monuments; & so din'd at Weighton; it is strange to see how y^e^ wayes are pester'd w^th^ carriages of all manner of preparations for warr; 30 peices of ordinance I met coming from Hull, & abundance of Wagons, w^th^ all things belonging to Pouder, Shot, & Match, Tents, Pikes, Spades, & Shovels. It was y^n^ too late to march w^th^ their Train of Artillery, for before they could get to Newcastle, y^e^ Scots had possess'd y^m^selves of it; & now y^e^ whole country of Northumberland & Bishoprick of Durham are compell'd to pay contribution mony to Lesley y^e^ Scots general: 300*l.* a day they demand'd of ye country of Northumberland, & 350*l.* of y^e^ Bishoprick of Durham: their proportion for victualing

y^e^ army after their demands, is 30 thousands weight of bread a day, 10 tun of bear a day, 6000 weight of Cheese, 50*l.* worth of beef, & 24*l.* worth of mutton by y^e^ day. We come not yet in Yorkshire into contribution w^th^ y^e^ Scots, for they have not yet invad'd us; but not w^th^ standing we feel y^e^ burden of y^e^ warr as well as our neighbours, by those regiments of foot and horse y^t^ are quarter^e^d amongst us & about us, & y^e^ Trainbands. The King's army consists of 19,000 foot & horse, & y^e^ trainbands of y^e^ country 12,000 w^ch^ y^e^ country hath maintain'd above a month w^ch^ comes to at least 30,000. W^n^ they demanded 4 nobles a man according to y^e^ rate of y^e^ sesments for y^e^ maintaining y^e^ trainband for one month, some of my Tenants asked of y^m^ whether they intend'd they should pay their Landlords Rents; so great a charge it was to every man; besides y^e^ charge of apparaling y^e^ soulgiers, w^ch^ came to 30*s.* a man besides the mony y^t^ was given to those they hir'd to go soulgiers. We also bore the charge of our light horse w^ch^ was 400: & for my 2 horses w^ch^ I myself furnished [they] came to 35*s.* a week, & so every man paid after 2*s.* 6*d.* y^e^ day for his man & horse; but all this charge hath been to no great purpose, for they did lye idle being billit'd about York, & w^n^ they had been at all this charge, they were sent home again. The charge this year hath been so great to this country, by impositions & taxes laid upon it, & by y^t^ wast w^ch^ is made by y^e^ souldiers y^t^ are billit'd here,

y^{t} men are at a stand w^{t} course to take, or how to dispose of y^{m} selves. Y^{e} fear they apprehend by y^{t} w^{ch} hath befallen their neighbours, in Northumberland & Bishoprick of Durham from y^{e} Scots army, y^{t} ly yet there amongst y^{m}, hath made many both here & in Bishoprick to forsake their houses & neglect, so y^{t} it is greatly to be fear'd we shall find both y^{e} value of our lands & rents to fall & abate very much. There is no stability in any thing of this world; w^{n} things are once advanced to such a height, it is not to be expected they will there settle, but rather return to y^{e} same degree they were. But all is lost, if warr continue amongst us; one years continuance shall make a greater desolation y^{n} 20 years shall recover; we may see y^{e} experience of this in some degree, by y^{e} soulgiers y^{t} are encamp'd in Clifton & Bishop feilds, how they lay all wast about y^{m} & makes a destruction of wood & hedges; *so y^{t} y^{e} owners of it shall make little or nothing of it; for this year I have escap'd very well, having no manner of loss; but w^{t} may be hereafter I know not; my Lands as they are now rent'd yeild me a good revenue, & lett dear about Knasborough. I have plowing land y^{t} give me 18*s.* an acre according as they are now rent'd; (**here half a sheet was wanting on both sides w^{ch} must needs make a great difficiency in y^{e} proceedings.*)

* This parenthesis is a note of Sir Savile's.

The 24 of Sept^{r} y^{e} King & y^{e} Lords* mett together in y^{e} great Hall at y^{e} Deanes house to consult w^{t} answer to give y^{e} Scottish petition, & how y^{e} King might have a supply of monys to maintain his armys in y^{e} meantime, whilst things were in debate: & it was conclud'd upon y^{e} first day y^{t} commissioners should be appointed to y^{e} number of 16 Lords & Earles, & y^{e} place to be at Rippon, to meet such commishioners as y^{e} Scottish lords at Newcastle shall appoint: y^{e} Scots were made acquaint'd wth it by a speciall messenger sent from y^{e} King, & my brother John Bellasyse appoint'd to carry it; & for a supply of monys a letter was sent by my Lord Chamberlaine L^{d} Gowring & my L^{d} Privy seal unto the City of London, in y^{e} name of all y^{e} L^{ds}, to borrow 200,000*l.*; & but 50,000*l* was grant'd. Out of a desire to understand how things would go, I went to Rippon to y^{e} Parly of y^{e} Inglish & Scottish Lords, who met there y^{e} last of 7^{bre}. After much delay, & messages sent to & fro, in 3 weeks time y^{e} Parley broke up, our English L^{ds} having condescended to y^{e} demands of y^{e} Scots, & 25,000*l.* a month for 2 months grant'd

* Of this extraordinary Council Clarendon says; "A new convention (not before heard of, that is, so old that it had not been practised in some hundreds of years) was thought of, to call a great Council of all the Peers of England to meet and attend his Majesty at York, that by their advice that great affair [the Invasion of the Scotch Rebels] might be the more prosperously managed."

to y^e^ Scots to maintain their army about Newcastle, till all things were agreed on in our English Parliament.* My L^d^ of Holland kept his Table at Rippon for all y^e^ Lords, & y^e^ Scots commissioners sometimes were invit'd by him, who kept a correspondence w^th^ one another: they sent to prison a Trooper for abusing y^e^ Scottish commissioners at their first coming to Rippon being at y^e^ inn where they lighte'd. M^r^ Thurscross was appoint'd to wait on our English L^ds^, who bestow'd his pains in preaching to y^m^; but some of our English L^ds^ dislik'd y^e^ minster service, & refus'd to come, in y^t^ better agrement to y^e^ Scots. The 13 of October I went to y^e^ Election of Burgusses of Knasboroug w^th^ intention to stand, & coming thither, I found S^r^ Richard Hutton & Henry Benson to be competitors with me; w^n^ it came to Poleling I carry'd it, but w^th^ some difficulty, & Henry Benson. S^r^ Rich. Hutton labour'd all he could to carry it by y^e^ industry of his Fathers man Moore who dwells in y^e^ town, & I likewise by y^e^ diligence of my man Tho. Richardson who took great pains to bring y^e^ Burgesses together w^m^ he knew would give their votes for me, he himself being one. There is an ill custome at these Elections to bestow wine in

* For the articles ultimately agreed on see Rushworth. Sir Henry gives the round number 25,000*l.*, but this enormous exaction was 850*l.* per diem, which, taking the month at thirty days would be 25,500*l.*

all y^e^ Town, w^ch^ cost me 16*l.* at y^e^ least & many a man a broken pate.*

The last of October dy'd my Guardener Peter Clark after 12 or 14 years service to my father & me; he was for no curiosity in Guardening, but exceeding laborious in grafting, setting, & sowing; w^ch^ extream labour shortn'd his days; he languish'd many years & so handl'd as he was, nor could any judge w^t^ he ail'd; sometimes he would say he was bewitch'd, & at other times y^t^ he had a great worm in his gutts y^t^ did knaw & torment him, w^ch^ made me w^n^ he dy'd send for a chirurgeon from York to embowell him; but no such thing appear'd.

The 2^d^ of 9^ber^. I took my journey to London to be at y^e^ Parliament, & came thither 2 days after it had begun.† Great expectance their is of a happy Parliament where y^e^ subject may have a total redress of all his grievances: & here they apply y^m^ to Question all delinquents, all Projectors, & Monopolizers, such as levi'd ship mony, & such Judges as gave it for law. All innovators either in church or state: & as cheif actors therein, they fell upon my‡ L^d^ of Canter-

* This sentence is quoted by Mr. Pennant in his "Tour from Alston-moor to Harrowgate and Brimham Crags." p. 110. Mr. Pennant visited Scriven in that tour, [in 1773] when he was no doubt permitted to see the MS.

† The Parliament met on the third.

‡ Whitlock records a memorable specimen of the fanaticism of the Scotch Commissioners who, "concluded their accusation

bury & Strafford & accus'd y^m^ of high treason; they fear not y^e^ dissolving of Parliament, for y^e^ Scots are at Newcastle w^th^ an army forty'd [fortified] & they second our accusation against those 2 great Persons; & mony must be found to satisfy y^e^ Scots in their demands, w^ch^ would not be found till y^e^ Parliament had pass'd certain Bills; as namely, y^t^ Bill for y^e^ preventing y^e^ untimely dissolving of Parliament, & another for tryenniall Parliaments, & for y^e^ taking away y^e^ high commission & starr Chamber Courts, w^th^ many other of publick & private concernments.

The Scots would not away till they had such articles grant'd as was exhibite'd to y^e^ Parliament for y^e^ better establishing a firm peace between y^e^ 2 nations. This prov'd a business of great difficulty not easily effect'd; like y^e^ tossing three Balls in one hand, w^ch^ requires both y^e^ eye & hand to be very steeddy, least one Ball do enterfore w^th^ another, & all miscarry; while one business took up our time, y^e^ other y^n^, while it came in agitation, seemed more unsupportable; w^n^ we treat'd of y^e^ demands of y^e^ Scots, our own business w^ch^ concerned our selves & our country was neglect'd; & w^n^ we consider'd of y^e^ ways & means to get mony, to disband our armys & pay y^e^ Scots, our engagement grew y^e^ more, & no mony to be found

against him, That if the Pope had been in his Place, he could not have been more Zealous against the Reformed Churches, to reduce them to the *Heresies, Doctrines, Superstitions, Idolatries of Rome*, &c."

to discharge y^m^; till after many projects of melting plate, of raising mony upon delinquents & from y^e^ lands of Prebends & Bishops, at last they agree'd upon a Bill for Polemony [Poll-money], every man paying according to his rank & quality, w^ch^ for my share came to 30*l.* The Bishops they endeavour'd to bring into a premunire for making of new cannons contrary to Law;* & having many other matters against y^m^, they do not endeavour so much to remove y^m^, as totally to abolish Episcopacy, & to establish a government of presbitary. Petitions are brought out almost of every Country against y^e^ Bishops; some do petition to reform y^m^, others to abolish y^m^ root & branch; But importunate petitioners are y^e^ Londoners, shewing y^m^ selves y^e^ most implacable against y^m^ as they did against my Lord Strafford, resorting to y^e^ Parliament house in great multitudes, demanding justice against him. I went w^th^ y^e^ Bill

* In the Convocation, which (by a new Commission as well as by its incapacity of dissolution by the dissolution of Parliament) continued to sit after the dissolution of the Short Parliament, May 5. 1640, an Oath was framed to be imposed on the Clergy, and seventeen Canons were made; which were confirmed by the King, June 30. The oath bound the party taking it never "to subject it [the church of England] to the usurpations and superstitions of the See of Rome," and the third Canon was "For the suppressing the growth of Popery," of which, and several others, Whitelock makes no mention. The Oath, Canons, and Confirmation by the King, will be found at pp. 1186-7-8, vol. ii. part 2, of Rushworth.

for their taking of their votes in y^e^ house of Peers, & for medling w^th^ temporal affairs, but I was against y^e^ Bill for taking away y^e^ function & calling of Bishops; this is a business chiefly aim'd at by y^e^ Parliament & solicit'd by our countrimen* y^t^ live beyond y^e^ seas in Holland hoping y^t^ if episcopy were abolish'd they might peaceably live at home & enjoy their consciences. I could never be of y^t^ opinion y^t^ y^e^ government of y^e^ Church, as it is now establish'd by Bishops & ArchBishops to be of absolute necessity so y^t^ y^e^ taking of y^m^ away should quite overturn y^e^ state & essence of y^e^ cristian church; but I am of opinion y^t^ y^e^ taking of y^m^ out of y^e^ church as y^e^ government is now establist & so long continu'd, may be of dangerous consequence to y^e^ peace of y^e^ Church; for admitting y^t^ government of Bishops be not of divine right, nor in every point, as it is now exercis'd, of Apostolical right, yet we find some foundation thereof in y^e^ wrighting of y^e^ Apostles, y^t^ there was not intend'd a party [parity] amongst all y^e^ presbiters, but some in dignity above y^e^ rest, as Timothey & Titus; but considering y^t^ this government hath continu'd from y^e^ Apostles, or near y^e^ Apostles time, it were not safe to make alteration from so antient a beginning; we used to say y^t^ custome makes laws, & our common laws is but antient customs; yet if

* See a letter of one of these persons in Rushworth, pp. 89-90. vol. ii. part 3.

any custome should be found against right reason (w^{ch} intrincecally makes laws) it would be regulat'd for an evill custom [and] were better broken y^{n} kept.

The comon people judges not wth things, as they are wth reason or against; but long usage wth y^{m} is instead of all, so y^{t} they would think y^{m} selves loose & absolv'd from all government w^{n} they should see y^{t} w^{ch} they so much venerat'd so easily subvert'd. were y^{e} government of Episcopacy plainly deduc'd from y^{e} wrighting of y^{e} Apostles, none should gain say it, yet I may say there is as much ground y^{t} y^{e} calling of Bishops was institut'd by y^{e} apostles, as y^{t} y^{e} sabbath day was chang'd by y^{m}, & yet who would be so presumptuous to hold y^{t} it may be again chang'd? & it is as great a presumption of private dislikes, & for y^{e} misgovernment of some, to alter & change a government y^{t} hath been long establisht. W^{n} y^{e} people of Israel desir'd a King, y^{t} desire of theirs was ground upon y^{e} miscarriage of Samuell's Sons, who walk'd not in y^{e} ways of their father but follow'd their own lucre: Yet God saith they had not reject'd Samuell, but they had reject'd him, & w^{n} God had annoynt'd Saul to be their King, all were not pleas'd to take a man out of y^{e} meanest tribe & meanest family of y^{t} tribe: so it is said in y^{e} text y^{t} y^{e} wick'd despis'd him & brought him no presents;* so it may

* This illustration is used by Santa Clara, Confessor to Queen Henrietta, in his "Apologia Episcoporum," 1640.

at this day, those y^{t} are against Episcopacy, may pretend it is for their misgovernment y^{t} they dislike y^{m}, & yet it may be it is out of disdain y^{t} others should be preferr'd before y^{m}: and if their should be made a party amongst y^{e} ministers, in few years there would be as great contention between those y^{t} are learned & unlearn'd as now there is betwixt those y^{t} are preferr'd to honour & those y^{t} are not, those y^{t} have riches, & those have none; as we had, this Parliament, some call'd before us, y^{t} were but tradesmen, who yet would undertake to preach, w^{ch} they did, not only in opposition to authority, but they thought so well of y^{m} selves, as they thought none so worthy as y^{m} selves.*

After 14 weeks stay at London in M^{r}. Clark's house over against Ivie bridge, where I had 2 chambers at 12*s*. y^{e} week, I return'd into y^{e} Country, having first asked leave of y^{e} Parliament. At my coming home I found my wife well recover'd of a defluction of y^{e} Reume y^{t} troubl'd her, occasion'd by taking a journey to see her sister Bellasyse who was fallen sick at Coxwould, & had sent to her to come over, & it fell out to be wth in a day or two after she had taken Physick, w^{ch} expos'd hir y^{e} sooner to take cold; The physick I sent her down from London by

* Several curious notices will be found in Evelyn's Diary, of the Fanatics who intruded themselves into Churches during the Rebellion, and of the calamitous effects of their heretical teaching.

y^e^ Directions of D^r^. Myerne * of whom she had taken Physick y^e^ year before:† for his custom is to register in a book y^e^ diseases & remedies of all his patients, if they be of difficulties, so y^t^ sending for his book he finds w^t^ he had done to her formerly, & thereupon prescribes y^e^ same; usually I went in a morning for his advise, about 7 of y^e^ clock, where I us'd to find him set in his study, w^ch^ was a large roome furnish'd w^th^ books & Pictures; and as one of y^e^ cheifest, he had y^e^ picture of y^e^ head of Hyppocrates y^t^ great physitian; & upon his table he had y^e^ proportion of a man in wax, to set forth y^e^ ordure & composure of every part; before his table he had a frame w^th^ shelves, wheron he set some books; & behind this he sat to receive those y^t^ came for his advise, for he seldom went to any, for he was corpulent, & unweildy; & y^n^ again he was rich, & y^e^ Kings phycitian, & a Knight, w^ch^ made him more costly to deal w^th^ all. In y^e^ time of being away, there was no alterations about my house or servants, but y^t^ my wife had bestow'd one maid in marriage & taken another; she had married Anne Richardson to M^r^. Fish, & had taken Anne Kirk to be her house maid in Anne Richardson' roome,

* Sir Theodore Mayerne; born at Geneva in 1573: Physician to King James I. by whom he was Knighted, and to King Charles I. and II. and of the highest eminence in his profession. He died in 1655.

† See p. 48.

both good servants; But An. Richardson so temper'd hir thrift as to please y^e^ servants as well as her Lady & Mistriss. But An. Kirk did only apply her thrift in good house wifery to please her mistress w^th^ out any respect to servants; w^ch^ doth make her less beloved by y^m^; she wait'd on my wife w^n^ I marry'd her, 10 years ago, & her last service was w^th^ my L^d^ Fairfax of Denton * till he dy'd.

[1641.]

I went up again to y^e^ Parliament y^e^ 30 of March, & in my going I carry'd my wife to Temple Newson to see my sister Ingram, who y^e^ next day after our coming, fell sick in labour, & deliver'd of a son. This I carry'd as news to her husband who was y^n^ at London; Rob. Norton dy'd w^th^in 2 or 3 days after my going up to London being of y^e^ age of 80 years; he had liv'd many years at this house; my [brother Ingram] entertain'd him, out of Charity, & because he was his kinsman, after he had spent all his own means; he was forc'd to give him meat, drink & cloaths; & in this poor manner he liv'd: while he had his sight he was able to keep an account & oversee y^e^ servants at their work, and this was the best cervice he could do.

In 1641 I sent from London against Easter a suite of cloaths for my son Thomas, being y^e^ first breeches & doublet y^t^ he ever had, & made by my

* Father and Grandfather to the two Parliamentary Generals.

tailor M^r. Miller; it was too soon for him to wear y^m being but 5 years old, but y^t his mother had a desire to see him in y^m, how proper a man he would be; about y^e latter end of August I made a Journey to Scipton, unto my* L^d Chaimberlain's house, to move his Lordship for y^e Understuard of the Castle Court of Knasboroug, having formerly his promise; but Robaltome his man had chang'd his mind & w^n I came he deny'd me; at y^e same time came M^r Matthew Hutton, & obtain'd of his Lordship y^e Understuardship of Richmond. I have not yet learnt y^e way how to prevail, nor w^t weapons to bring to assail a wilful refusal, nor w^t more on my part to be seen y^n a clear intention & a thankful heart.

The 1^st of October dy'd an old man of my sister Mettcalfs, y^t came w^th her w^n she came to see us before we took our Journey to London; he sickn'd upon a cold he took by being upon y^e Grass, at y^e Ferry side, & by a surfeit of eating Plumbs: my son Henry was sick in y^e house at the same time of a double Tertian w^ch held him 3 weeks. It is strange to see how loath by nature every man is to dye, tho' it is degreed y^t every man must dye, & no means to avoid it, & seing y^t this life is but a Pilgrimage or

* The Earl of Pembroke, who married the daughter and heir of George Clifford third Earl of Cumberland after the death of her first husband the Earl of Dorset.

passage to a better life; & yet every man loves his Inn rather y^n^ his home & will suffer any dis-commodity here, rather y^n^ depart hence to purchase a place in heaven; I did y^e^ more wonder at it, to see this poor man while he lay sick so much talk of & desire to be at his own house; tho' I do think he lay better here y^n^ at home, & had all things both of dyet & Physick better y^n^ if he were at home; & yet we never talk of nor desire heaven, tho it be never so much for our advantage & our best home. At my last being at Newbrough w^th^ my wife, to take our leaves of my L^d^ Fauconberg before we set forward to London, I had my coach robb'd, & all y^e^ lining, fringe, & lace, taken out, upon all saints day at night; but we being near our Journey must be glad to go up w^th^ it as it was; only making use of some curtains w^ch^ was pin'd up for a poor shift.*

The 11^th^ of November I set forwards towards London w^th^ my wife, & children, after tryal made of M^r^ Cleter physitian, whom I sent for from Newcastle, being physitian to my neece Fenwick & commend'd to us by her; but after a weeks tryall he return'd, having given him six peices for his pains of coming; but little good in point of cure.

The 31^st^ of December my dear wife depart'd this

* Coaches with glazed windows were not then in use: they came in after the Restoration and were called Glass Coaches; a term we retain, though the original meaning is lost sight of.

life, after she had endur'd a world of misery; her many infirmities at last turning to a consumption. The loss of her by death is beyond expression, both to her children, & all y^t^ knew her; but chiefly to my self, who hath enjoy'd happy days in her company & society w^ch^ now I find a want of; she was a woman of a very sweet disposition, pleasant, & affable; & w^n^ any thing moy'd her to anger, or y^t^ she conceiv'd any injury done to her, she would easily forgive, & be y^e^ first y^t^ would offer termes of reconsilement; & tho' she was passionate, it was not lasting, but soon passed over; she was exceeding timerous, & fearfull, w^ch^ made her apprehend many dangers to her self; she would say she was not affraid to dye, but of y^e^ pains of Death; & to her physitian she would say, she desir'd nothing to prolong her life, so she could have any thing to ease her pains; so it happn'd to her as she fear'd, for certainly she dy'd a very painful death, having y^e^ use of her speech & senses & memory to y^e^ very moment she dy'd; now w^t^ loss is to be compar'd to my loss? but y^e^ Lord hath sent it me for not valuing so great a blessing in a wife; & I will now comfort my self in this hope y^t^ y^e^ Lord hath taken her unto himself, & hath carry'd her to y^e^ bosom of Abraham & possess'd her of his everlasting kingdom, & given her an inheritance w^th^ his saints in light; where is light & no darkness, joy, & no sorrow, peace, & no war, felicity & happiness w^th^out misery; to w^ch^ place I hope in God I shall once be

brought, to enjoy life eternal w^th^ Christ Jesus & all his Saints: she would always be calling to have some part of y^e^ Scripture read unto her, & cheifly y^e^ Psalms, & y^e^ night before she dy'd she said by heart some part of y^e^ 103 Psalm; her cheif worldly desire was y^t^ my daughter Barbara might have a portion set forth; w^ch^ y^n^ I did, in case I marry'd, by a deed w^ch^ I seal'd to, & gave my brother John Belasyse to keep. Y^e^ house we lay at, was mounsier Sabastian's in Covent Garden, next house to y^e^ gate at y^e^ west end, y^t^ goes into y^e^ new church yard: & I bury'd her upon y^e^ altar steps, unto y^e^ south side next my Lady Savils in y^e^ Parish of S^t^. Martin's church, w^ch^* had both our first meeting & our last parting; I marry'd at London in anno 1631 y^e^ 7 day of July, & liv'd y^e^ first year in S^t^. Martins lane, & so kept my first Christmas in S^t^ Martins Parish: so is our lives & purposes dispos'd of by God Almighty as we have no time but y^e^ present to lay hold on.

[1642.]

The 20^th^ of May I came down from London, in y^e^ company of my brother Belasyse, & his wife; they took my daughter Barbara w^th^ y^m^ to Coxwould; & I betook my self to Alne unto my sister Bethell's w^th^ my

* i. e. Parish: Sir Henry was married at Kensington; see p. 51.

son Thomas, & his master, M^r. Cheny; where I intend they shall remain; a little before my coming from London, y^e King being at York, gave commissions for y^e severall Regiments of foot of y^e Trainbands for Yorkshire, & to myself one amongst y^e rest dated y^e 11^th of May 1642. I had not been yet at my own house, not abiding to come where I should find a miss of my dear wife, & where every room will call her to my memory & renew my grief. I therefore staid at Alne at my Sister Bethells house untill I had better digest'd my grief; & there it was y^t I had my commission sent unto me to command y^e Regiment of y^e trainbands of y^e City of York: and in y^e Citty I receiv'd an order a little after from y^e King to take 20 of a company to do y^e duty of a soulgier, & to be a guard to y^e King's person during y^e time of his Abode at York: but I perceiv'd a great backwardness in y^m; & upon Summons few or none appear'd, so this was pass'd over & no more done; for y^e King went to Beverly to be near S^r. John Hotham & his Son, who refus'd him entrance w^th y^t train he came w^th all.* Therefore y^e King gathers together part of y^e trainbands; & my L^d Linsey chiefly in command, make some show to block up y^e town of Hull, & cast up some works, burns down y^e mills, guards y^e river, makes cannon Burketts, & Blinds; but w^thout affecting

* April 23, 1642.

much he returns to York. Now y^e^ King begins to consider of his departing from York, & his march to Nottingham, & y^e^ better to settle y^e^ Country calls y^e^ Gentlemen of y^e^ Country together at one time, & y^e^ freeholders at another, to Heworth moore; w^th^ y^e^ gentlemen he advis'd for raising monys to secure y^e^ country, for he beleiv'd after he was once gone out of Yorkshire they should find Hotham would pour out an army upon y^m^ (for y^t^ was his very word.) They [the] countrymen met on Huworth moore to great Number; but their meeting produc'd nothing else but a confus'd murmur & noise, as at an Election for Knights of y^e^ Parliaments, (some crying y^e^ King, some y^e^ Parliament.) S^r^. John Bouchier, S^r^. Tho. Fairfax & S^r^. W^m^ Fairfax, w^th^ a petition follow'd y^e^ King about y^e^ latter end of August 1642. The King march'd forth of Yorkshire w^th^ some few horse, for many commissions he had given out, but none in rediness; my L^d^ Cranford [Crawford] had spoken to y^e^ King for me to have a Commission for a Regiment of foot, but y^e^ King had so many y^t^ wait'd for Employment, y^t^ unless I would find arms for y^m^ w^n^ they were rais'd, it would not be grant'd. My L^d^ Cumberland was left in York by y^e^ King to govern y^e^ Country as L^d^ Leutenant: the gentlemen of y^e^ country also keeps at York for raising moneys & leviing men in case Hotham should stir out of Hull; & as y^e^ King had said, so it prov'd; for soon after y^e^ King was gone, young Hotham march'd out of Hull,

w^th^ some horse & foot, being part of those w^ch^ was rais'd in London [at] y^e^ first; w^n^ old Hotham was to be sent down to make Hull a garison for y^e^ Parliament. Y^n^ could not my L^d^ Cumberland & y^e^ Gentlemen of York make any head against him. But he march'd directly into y^e^ West Riding, not passing by S^r^ Christopher Daune w^th^out a visit, & borrow'd on him upon a publie faith a good sum of mony. S^r^. Tho. Glemham * y^n^ governor of York was sent a 2^d^ time out (for once before he was sent to settle Pontefract a garrison) being y^e^ 13^th^ of October, 1642, w^th^ horse & foot, & one Drake, [and] march'd to Leads. Hotham being y^n^ at Doncaster advanc'd towards him, & approaching near, causeth S^r^. Tho. Glenham to quit y^e^ place & considering y^e^ fource he had was not able to encounter his adversary, retreats back to

* Clarendon gives this character of Sir Thomas Glemham. "Sir Thomas Glemham was a gentleman of a noble extraction, and a fair Fortune, though he had much impaired it; he had spent many years in Armies beyond the Seas; and he had been an officer of very good esteem in the Kings armies, and of courage, and Integrity unquestionable; but was not of so stirring and active a nature, as to be able to infuse Fire enough into the Flegmatic Constitutions of that People, who did rather wish to be Spectators of the War than Parties in it, and believed, if they did not provoke the other Party, they might all live quietly together; until Sir John Hotham, by his excursions and depredations out of Hull, and their seditious neighbours, by their Insurrections, awaken'd them out of that Pleasant Dream." Book v. p. 718. (vol. i. part. 2.)

York; & y^e^ mony w^ch^ they were about to receive, Hotham comes and makes y^e^ Leads men pay it, w^th^ advantage. He was a very vigilant Soulgier, made long marches, & often in y^e^ night; he would march 16 miles in y^e^ night to take a delinquent out of his bed, as he did to S^r^ Henry Griffriths to take him in his house, but found him not there. He tok *Cowood Castle w^ch^ y^e^ Bishop of York, D^r^ Williams, had put Soulgiers into, & a Scotsman, one Captain Gray, to be governour; w^ch^ afterwards was mayor [major] in my Regiment of Voluntiers; but y^e^ Soulgiers being most of y^m^ townsmen, upon his coming quit y^e^ house, w^ch^ Gray & a few Keeps to capitulate, & makes conditions for y^m^selves. The Bishop was at y^e^ minster Church on a sunday, a day appoint'd for a communion; w^n^ this news was brought him this made him leave this Country and betake himself to his own country Wales.† And now my L^d^ Fairfax & his son began to appear in arms‡ & joyn w^th^ Hotham; who

* Cawood Castle, the residence of the Archbishops of York till the civil wars when it was demolished. Drake's Eboracum, p. 542.

† To Aber Conway. His loyalty, to say the least, is not above suspicion.

‡ This is a remarkable confirmation of the account given by Clarendon of the crafty conduct of the Fairfaxes. "when the King left Yorkshire he appointed Sir Thomas Glemham, at the desire of the Gentlemen of that County, as was before remembered, to stay in York, to order and command those forces which they should find necessary to raise to defend themselves from the excursions of Hull, whence young Hotham infested the

before enjoy'd his house at York, & tho' not my Lord himself yet his son liv'd at it, even w^n^ y^e^ gentlemen held their meetings for raising mony, leviing men by y^e^ comission of array. W^n^ they summon'd y^e^ head constables & gave their warrants for raising 8000*l.* formerly charg'd upon y^e^ country, & y^n^ considering how to hinder Hotham from ranging y^e^ Country; the head constables obeys, & makes to appear a willingness in y^e^ cervice, but w^th^ all puts in doubts & obstacles, some real, some imaginary, & devis'd so as little or nothing to any purpose was effected. S^r^. Tho. Fairfax took notice of all this, who being at York & seing me, as I was riding one evening to my own house, sends his man after me in y^e^ street, for he desir'd to speak w^th^ me; & it was to let me know he took notice y^t^ y^e^ gentlemen held their meeting in York, for raising monys & men by y^e^ commission of array, w^ch^ was against law & caus'd y^e^

Country, more than his Father, who was willing enough to sit still in his Garrison, where he believed he could make advantage upon the success of either party; and they who were most inclined to the Parliament (whereof the Lord Fairfax and his son were the chief; from whom the King was so far from expecting any notable mischief that he left them all at their own houses when he went thence, and might, if he had thought it requisite, have carried them away Prisoners with him) were rather desirous to look on," &c. Clarendon, Book vi. (p. 138. vol. ii. part 1.)

See more also to the same effect in Book v. (p. 718. vol. i. part 2.)

country to be in fear; but he would endeavour to remove y^m^. I told him y^t^ I conceiv'd y^t^ neither himself nor any of his had any cause of fear, seeing as y^n^ he had [not] appear'd in Armes, & w^t^ was intend'd was against Hotham, who rang'd y^e^ Country & would not keep in Hull; but now you have him joyn'd w^th^ Hotham, who to strengthen you y^e^ more hold Selbey, keeps their guard at Tadcaster & Wetherby. A little before comes general Ruthen * to go by my house y^e^ Red House; so he & all y^e^ Scots officers lay y^e^ first night at my house, & y^e^ next day I wait'd on y^m^ at Knasborough, & their provid'd a guide for Skipton. Being at Knasborough some of my tenants acquainted me, y^t^ my L^d^ Fairfax intend'd y^t^ night to put some soulgiers into y^e^ castle: herew^th^ I acquaint'd general Ruthen, he advis'd me to hold it myself, & draw some soulgiers unto it; whereupon I got y^e^ Keys of y^e^ Castle, caus'd a bed to be carry'd in, & y^t^ very night comes S^r^. Rich^d^ Hutton†, & part of y^e^ trainbands w^th^ commission from my L^d^ Cumberland to hold it for y^e^ King; so I return'd; only lay in y^e^ Castle y^t^ night, & in y^t^ rome & lodging y^t^ was built by my father, & where I had lain w^n^ I was very young being sent for by ‡my father;

* Created Earl of Brentford in 1644.

† Son of Judge Hutton: the Judge built Goldsborough Hall, Yorkshire, in 1606.

‡ Sir Henry Slingsby Knt. held the office of Janitor and

at my parting w^th^ General Ruthen he gave his consent y^t^ 2 of these officers w^ch^ came along w^th^ him should return back w^th^ me to York, unto whom I sent 30*l.* intending to make one of y^e^ men my Lutenant Collonell of y^e^ trainbands of y^e^ Citty & anciety (whose name was Belton a Scots man) but it could not be done, my L^d^ Cumberland would not concent; & indeed by taking out of y^e^ regiment 200 (pretending an honour due to him by inheritance as being Captain of Cliffords tower) made y^e^ regiment little worth; & yet I could not enjoy it w^th^out opposition, & y^t^ by every one y^t^ came to be governour of y^e^ town of York; for after S^r^. Tho. Glenham came S^r^. W^m^ Savill, after him Collonel Belasyse, but my L^d^ of Newcastle afterwards coming to have full power in y^e^ Country as general, would not give any new commission unless some just cause was shown to prostrate y^t^ y^e^ King had given. The Gentlemen of York began to be in a bad condition, in a manner blockt up: Hotham from one side by Cowood; by y^t^ time it was light day you should see him facing y^e^ town w^th^ a Troop of horse & sending y^e^ town a jear [jeer] y^t^ w^n^ he comes he finds y^m^ still in their beds; on y^e^ other side from Tadcaster beating in our Scouts, & taking some prisoners; & my man, his horse & arms,

Vigillator of the Castle of Knaresborough, under the Duchy of Lancaster. Mr. Hargrove suggests that Sir Henry the younger was thus sent for at the time of the Gun Powder Plot.

was one of y^m y^t was taken prisoners; an officer of theirs was so bold, as one day he rode up to y^e very barrs in middlegate, where some soulgiers were at work, & shot a townsman in y^e neck, who stood looking on y^m at work, & so he rid his ways.

My L^d Cumberland once again sent out S^r Tho. Glenham to beat up S^r. Tho. Fairfaxces Quarters at Wetherby, commanding out a party both of horse & dragoons. He comes close up to y^e town undiscry'd a little before sunrise, draws his horse up before y^e town thro' a back yard as they were direct'd by a countryman; this gave an alarm thro' y^e town. S^r Tho. Faifax y^n draughing on his Boots to go to his Father at Tadcaster, he gets on horse back, draws out some pikes, & so meets our Gentlemen: every one had his shot at him, he only making out at y^m w^th his sword, & y^n retires again under y^e Guard of his pikes; at another part of y^e town of York, Leivetenant Collonel Norton enters w^th his dragoons, Capt Attkisson encounters him on horseback, y^e other being a foot; they meet; Attkisson misseth w^th his Pistol, y^e other pulls him off his horse by y^e sword belt; being both on y^e ground Attkisson's soulgiers comes in, fells Norton into y^e ditch w^th y^e butt end of their musketts; y^n comes Norton's soulgiers & beat's down Attkisson & w^th blows at him broke his thigh bone, whereof he dy'd; after this scuffle they retreat'd out of y^e town, (a sore scuffle between two y^t had been neighbours & intimate friends) w^th out y^e loss of any

more than one Trooper Kill'd w^{n} y^{e} horse was drawn up, & one Major Carr a Scotchman kill'd wthin y^{e} town. Thus being straitn'd & blockt up gave occasion to y^{e} Gentlemen to send to treit wth y^{e} L^{d} of Newcastle about sending his army (w^{ch} y^{n} he was raising in Northumberland) for our releive in Yorkshire.

On y^{e} forest side near Skelton [were] drawn up in in batalio, horse, foot, & cannon. Here my L^{d} of Cumberland wth all y^{e} Gentlemen in York meets my Lord of Newcastle & so waits upon his Lordship into y^{e} town, where my L^{d} of Cumberland delivers up y^{e} Keys unto him, but not willingly*; now y^{e} soulgiers begin to enquire after their pay; they had spent their mony's in y^{e} march from Newcastle, they cannot longer be wthout; they hop'd to find mony plenty here; but this was y^{e} mischeif of it; Here was neither treasure nor treasurer; y^{e} commissioners had allott'd out an assesment thro' y^{e} country, but nothing yet collect'd. The soulgiers must be y^{e} Collectors & in y^{e} mean time live upon free Billett, w^{ch} caus'd great wast to be made, especially where y^{e} horse came, & put y^{e} countryman at a great charge, so great as not

* December 1642. "The Lord Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, who commanded in chief before the Earl of Newcastle came, gave way to his entering into the City of York, where he was well receiv'd by the Gentry of that Country; and Sir Thomas Glemham, then Governor of York, presented him with the keys of that City." Rushworth, p. 78. part 3. vol. ii.

to be imagin'd. Well y^e^ Soulgiers must be satify'd, but how it must be done y^e^ Gentlemen & Commissioners must be Consulted w^th^; whome he sends for to come unto him, & propounds to y^m^ to subscribe their names w^t^ every one will lend, & himself begins & subscribes two hundred pounds, & so y^e^ rest follow'd untill it came to my turn to subscribe one hundred, w^ch^ I paid y^t^ night unto S^r^. W^m^ Carnaby treasurer at warr.

The first Action his excellence undertook (which he attempt'd 2 days after he came from York) was y^e^ beating my L^d^ Fairfax out of Tadcaster, unto whom Hotham was joyn'd w^th^ their best forces*; his ex-

* "Upon Tuesday receiving Intelligence that the Earl of Newcastle, with his whole Forces, intended to fall upon our Quarter at Tadcaster, I sent to Capt. Hotham to bring up the Forces, at Wetherby; which being done, and the Earl of Newcastle's Army come in sight, we drew our men into the uttermost part of our Quarter, where we had raised some Breastworks for our Musqueteers, and there the fight began about Eleven of Clock, and so continued in sharp dispute untill about four of the clock in the evening; in which time there was at least forty thousand Musquet-shots discharged on both sides, and great numbers of Canon-shot. The enemy had once won part of the Town, and beaten our men, and placed some of their Companies in two or three Houses, which did much indanger us, but in the end our men with great courage forced them out again, recovered and burnt the Houses, and killed many of the Enemies men that were there placed; and in conclusion, the enemy retreated, leaving very many of their men

cellence y^e^ day before he made an attempt draws together his army, and quarters y^m^ in towns near adjoyning to Tadcaster, & y^e^ next day appears w^th^ his army before it, having his own regiment & some of our Yorkshire trainbands; [who] y^n^, falling upon y^m^ beat y^e^ enemy to y^e^ bridge & w^th^in their works, was yet y^m^ selves beat'd back again: y^e^ enemy making good their ground; & so continu'd w^th^ light skirmishing till night part'd y^m^. My L^d^ of Newport command'd the horse, who sent 15,000 horse & dragoons by Wetherby to fall on, & keep y^m^ busy on y^e^ other side of Tadcaster & beyond y^e^ river: but his march was so troublesome having w^th^ him 2 Drakes y^t^ it grew too late, & a Counter order sent him on Clifford more to march back to Wetherby & there Quarter. The enemy hearing y^t^ our horse was come over to y^e^ other side, durst not abide another onsett: But in y^e^ dead of y^e^ night causing an alarm to be beaten, as if they ment to make good y^e^ place; & by y^t^ pretence makes ready bagg & baggage to be gone. The enemy march'd unto Cawood; his excellency to Pomphret w^ch^ he made his head Quarter: his horse at Sherburn & at Towns next adjoyning. Here we were a little to secure: we had thought y^e^ enemy to be disheartn'd as y^t^ he would not dare to

dead, and very great numbers wounded.... And now I am at Selby with part of the Army, and the rest with Capt. Hotham at Cawood." Lord Fairfax's letter to the Speaker of the House of Peers, December 10, 1642.

look upon us any more; but it prov'd otherwise to our cost, for just y^t^ day 7 night we beat y^m^ from Tadcaster, cometh S^r^. Tho. Fairfax w^th^ a party of 300 horse, & it seems hearing y^t^ y^e^ horse in Sherburn were to have a feast, comes at noon day, beats up their Quarters, takes commissary Windham, S^r^. W^m^ Reddall, & many others prisoners, & having ransackt their quarters takes away their best horses & returns back to Cawood w^th^ y^e^ prize.

The 13 of December 1642 I receiv'd a comission from his excellence to raise a Regiment of Voluntiers: I caus'd my drum to be beaten up in York, & other places, & those y^t^ came to be listed I caus'd to be billet'd amongst my Tenants, & w^n^ I had gotten y^m^ up to y^e^ number of 200, I had y^m^ musterd & afterwards receiv'd their pay of y^e^ treasurer w^th^ y^e^ rest of y^e^ regiments: no little trouble I had in raising of y^m^, both in keeping y^e^ men together y^t^ I had rais'd till they might be muster'd & have pay, as also in listing of y^m^ under severall Captains of my regiment; for they would be changing from one to another, & some I should entertain (that is to gett other conditions, & eas'd of duty) would list y^m^ selves in my service: y^n^, being found out, taken from me imprison'd: y^e^ first time they march'd w^th^ y^e^ army was w^n^ his excellency went to Burlington, to receive y^e^ Queen on land, altho' her coming was not known, till we were at Pocklington y^t^ she sent Cap^t^ Millett on Shore & a-foot, to bring tidings of her

landing; for my Lords design was to attempt some w^t ag^st Malton; where there was to defend it S^r. Hugh Cholmondely* & Hotham.

We remarch'd y^e first night to Sherif Hutton & there lay 2 nights, Leiutenant King being sent to view y^e place; y^n after we had our army drawn up together in y^e park, & so march'd forward to Stanford bridge, & so to Pocklington. Here General Goring w^th all y^e horse was sent over y^e woulds to hinder if we can their retreat to Hull: But comes too late; they were got before w^th all their force, horse, foot, & artillery; y^r his excellency prepares w^th all speed to march to Burlington to meet y^e Queen, & finds her at dinner in a little house by y^e Keys, w^ch was y^e latter end of February, & y^e same time 12 months she took shipping to go to Holland. That night she lodg'd by y^e Key, & ye next morning was awakn'd

* A short time before this, on the 16th of January, Sir Hugh Cholmondely had routed a party under Colonel Slingsby, the Secretary of the Earl of Strafford: in which engagement Col.r Slingsby was mortally wounded. [See Genealogy.] Perhaps this death of Col. Slingsby helped to recall him to a sense of his duty, for in March following he returned to his Allegiance, and surrendered Scarborough Castle to the Queen, "the command and government whereof" says Clarendon, "was again by the Earl [of Newcastle] committed to him; which he discharged with courage and singular fidelity. By these means, and those successess [of Charles Cavendish], the Lord Fairfax quitted Selby, Cawood, and Tadcaster, and retired to Pomfret and Hallifax."

by y^e^ cannon thundring from y^e^ Parliament ships;*

† This outrage is thus detailed by Clarendon. "The second day after the Queen's landing, Batten, Vice-Admiral to the Earl of Warwick (who had waited to intercept her passage) with four of the King's Ships arrived in Burlington road; and finding that her Majesty was landed, and that she was lodged upon the Key, bringing his ships to the nearest distance, being very early in the morning, discharg'd above a hundred cannon (whereof many were laden with Cross-bar-shot) for the space of two hours upon the House where her Majesty was lodged; whereupon she was forced out of her Bed, some of the shot making a way through her own chamber; and to shelter herself under a Bank in the open fields; which Barbarous and Treasonable Act, was so much the more odious, in that the Parliament never so far took notice of it, as to disavow it. So that many believ'd it was very pleasing to, if not commanded by, them; and that if the Ships had encounter'd at Sea, they would have left no hazard unrun to have destroy'd her Majesty." Book vi. (p. 143. vol. ii. part 1.)

A curious trait of character occurs in the account of this circumstance in Madame de Motteville's Memoirs for the history of Anne of Austria: She says that as the Queen "was asleep in bed, she was awakened by the Enemy's Cannon Shot, which went thro' the Cottage where she lay. My Lord Germain her chief Gentleman of the Querry, and Minister, came to wait upon her and told her she was in such imminent Danger that there was an absolute necessity for her escaping. Accordingly she left the place, after putting on a Gown, and went to conceal herself in the caves without the Village. She had an ugly lap-Dog, named Mitte, which she was very fond of; and remembring in the middle of the Village that she had left Mitte asleep in her bed, she returned the way she came; and not fearing

who, tho' they knew y^e^ Queen to be there, yet endanger'd her very much by y^e^ shoting, & ceas'd not to shoot untill Vantrumpt, y^e^ states of Hollands admirall, who convey'd y^e^ Queen hither, sent a Message to y^e^ Parliament [Ships] to wist y^m^ to give over shooting, for he would be no longer made a looker on. The Queen & y^e^ Duches of Richmond & y^e^ rest of y^e^ Ladys, to save y^m^selves from shott, gott under y^e^ bank of a little gullet of water y^t^ run into y^e^ sea, at y^e^ Harbour, w^ch^ running deep between two banks gave security to those y^t^ sat under y^m^: here having Cloakes cast under y^m^, & about y^m^ did y^e^ Lady's sit & take notice w^th^-out danger where every bullet grazed; & yet for all y^t^, a little farther there did lye, from y^e^ key of Burlington to y^e^ town, in y^e^ very bottom of y^e^ way, or in y^e^ hollow w^th^in y^e^ banks, y^e^ body of a soulgier torn & mangl'd w^th^ their great shott. To secure y^e^ Harbour where y^e^ Queen had putt in 3 ships load'd w^th^ armes & ammunition, (for they shott amain at y^m^ thinking to have fired them) Leivetenant General King had cast up 2 works of either side y^e^ Harbour, & rais'd 2 Batteries on either side, & Drakes to discharge upon y^e^ ships, & to hinder their approaching nearer to y^e^ Harbour: w^ch^ w^n^ they saw they could do no good upon y^m^, at y^e^ next tide they weig'd anchor & away.

her pursuers, She brought away her Favourite and then retired as fast as she could from Cannon Shot." Vol. i. p. 220. London, 1726.

The Queen removes to Burlington, a mile off, & there tarrys for 3 or 4 days, & thither comes my L^d^ Mount-Ross, & other Scotchmen, to wait upon y^e^ Queen & to kiss her hand; There comes also to treat w^th^ his excellence about exchange of prisoner, young Hotham; but I beleive y^n^ it was y^t^ Hotham was try'd & offers made him, upon condition if he would render up Hull to my L^d^ of Newcastle.* S^r^. Marmaduke Langdale was desired to break y^e^ matter to him, but he refus'd, as not willing to use his old friendship & intimate acquaintance in a way to surprize his Judgments. But w^n^ he had once taken down y^e^ pill he us'd his skill to make it work. No doubt but large offers would easily work upon a man y^t^ was covetous & ambitious, w^ch^ 2 vices led him much one [on] to seek to be made governour of Hull; for w^n^ their was a rumor spread in London y^t^ y^e^ King would send provisions & intend'd himself to lye in Hull, S^r^. John Hotham informs y^e^ Parliament hereof, w^ch^ movd a question in y^e^ house, who they should send down to keep it for y^e^ Parliament; & according to their orders, he y^t^ makes a motion, is first thought of in y^e^ employment; because he affect'd soulgiery & had seen some-

* "Letters were produced [July 1644,] under Sir John Hotham's Hand among the Papers of the Earl of Newcastle taken at Marston-Moor, by which Hotham expresseth his affection to the Earl, and thereupon the Commons called for the ordinance for Martial Law, and it being agreed upon, was sent up to the Lords." Whitelock, p. 95.

w^t abroad in y^e palatinate, y^t fram'd some notions in his head. I have heard my L^d of Cumberland say, that he would be talking to him many years before, w^n we were happy in knowing nothing of warr & secure in beleiving never to find y^e effects out here, y^t if he had Hull a garison he would bring all Yorkshire into contribution.

But it seems my L^d of Newcastle knew how to work upon his distemper w^n he once found his pulse, but I rather think it was his son & his sons jeering & disagreing w^th my L^d Fairfax, w^ch made him weary of being of one side, & more easily drawn to hearken to reason. He was one y^t was not easily led to beleive as another doth, or hold an opinion for y^e authors sake; not out of judment but faction, for w^t he held was clearly his own judgment, w^ch made him but one half y^e Parliaments; for he was manly for y^e defence of y^e liberty of y^e subject & priviledge of Parliament, but was not at all for their new opinions in Church government. At this time S^r. Marmaduke Langdale*,

* "Of this kind there were two very notable men, Sir Marmaduke Langdale and Sr. Philip Musgrave; both men of large and plentiful Estates, the one in Yorkshire, the other in Cumberland and Westmoreland; who having been in the time of peace eminent in their Country, in the offices of Justices of Peace, and Deputy Lieutenants, had, in the beginning of the War, engaged themselves in Commands in the Kings army with great reputation of stout, diligent, and active officers; and continued to the end, and had not after applied themselves to

rais'd his regiment of foot by y^e^ Commission of array in y^e^ East riding, & had y^m^ immediately arm'd out of y^e^ ships, & in readiness to march w^th^ y^e^ army to York w^th^ y^e^ Queen. My Regiment was left in Stamport [Stamford] bridge by order from y^e^ Mayor [Major] General, & to receive further orders from Collonell Thronmerton [Throgmorton] y^t^ was left their governour. He had a little before beaten y^e^ enemy out of Stamford bridge command'd by one of y^e^ Darleys w^th^ 100 men.

No fortifications made about it y^e^, but only y^e^ bridge broken down by S^r^. Hugh Cholmely, & a little breast work on y^e^ farther side. Throgmorton command'd y^e^ party, & falling upon [them] by y^t^ time it was light day, plac'd his Dragoons to play hotly upon y^m^ from y^e^ bridge, while he pass'd his horse over at y^e^ ford: so y^e^ enemy w^th^out any more dispute quit y^e^ Town & shift every man for himself: hereupon his excellence makes him governour, who fortifies, sends out for contribution, seizeth upon delinquents & their goods, makes sure of S^r^. Rich^d^ Darleys estate, sews his own land w^th^ his own corn,

make any composition, but expected a new opportunity to appear with their Swords in their hands. They were both looked upon by the Parliament, and the chief officers of the Army with most Jealousy, as men worthy to be apprehended and who could never be induced to comply with them." Clarendon, p. 126. vol. iii. part 1.

lays a tax upon y^e^ country 3D. upon every horse load of corn y^t^ passeth by his garison & thus he kept y^e^ Town w^th^ a great deal of vigilance till his excellency command'd him away w^th^ some regiments of horse y^t^ was to lye about Halifax & upon y^e^ edge of Darbishire: and after him, in 1643, his Leivetenant Collonell Edward Cary.

[1643.]

About y^e^ 5 of may I came to have y^e^ Comand of y^e^ town, & because y^e^ soulgiers were in some distress for want of pay & of victuals, & because y^e^ providers committ'd great abuse upon y^e^ Country, & y^e^ Soulgiers at no better pass, Mr. Nevill one of y^e^ Commissioners was sent by y^e^ Comittee at York, to make an establishment of an Assesment w^th^ in y^e^ east riding, y^t^ y^e^ soulgiers might have their pay after 6 shillings a week to every soulgier, & y^e^ officer to have his pay out of it; w^ch^ by dead pays might procure some little matter to him: but y^e^ countrymen came so slowly in w^th^ their assessments, y^t^ y^e^ horse belonging to y^e^ garison was employ'd wholly in fetching it & such persons as refus'd: & sometimes, making no difference, would injure those y^t^ were well affected & had duly paid, so y^t^ much on [of] it was lost; here I continu'd 8 weeks, & while I stay'd, I eas'd y^e^ country of y^t^ tax w^ch^ y^e^ former governour had imposed; 3^d^ upon every horse load of Corn; w^ch^ was a thing

ill taken by him, but y^e^ Country had reason to be freed now, y^t^ paid a certain rate in mony weekly to y^e^ garison: & I thought y^t^ good usage would make him more easily pay [paid] having little else to procure him mony: hereupon I had orders from [for] my regiment to march out, & S^r^. Robert Strictland to be there.

Now y^e^ Queen was preparing to march to y^e^ King, & his excellence w^th^ his army convey'd her to Pomphret, where his excellency caus'd a councell of warr to be caus'd, y^t^ advice might be taken w^ch^ were y^e^ most usefull cervice in y^e^ army, whether to march up w^th^ y^e^ Queen & so joyne w^th^ y^e^ King, or else w^th^ y^e^ army to stay, & only give order for some regiments to wait upon her majesty. If he march'd up, his army would give a gallant addition to y^e^ Kings, but y^n^ he left y^e^ country in my L^d^ Fairfax his power, & it might be he should have him march in y^e^ rear of him, joyne in y^e^ parliaments forces. If he stay'd, he might send some forces w^th^ y^e^ Queen, & yet be able to lay seige to my L^d^ Fairfax in Leeds, or fight him in y^e^ field. Well, this latter was resolved on, of sending some forces only w^th^ y^e^ Queen, & himself to stay, & to try y^e^ mastery w^th^ my L^d^ Fairfax. He first takes Howley house by storm,* & S^r^. John Savill in it; y^n^ he lay to consider of y^t^ w^ch^ must be

* June 22nd, 1643: it had been taken by Lord Fairfax in the January previous.

y^e^ master peice, y^e^ taking of Leeds & Bradford, or giving battle if my L^d^ Fairfax durst venture in y^e^ feild.

My L^d^ Fairfax was no less circumspect w^t^ advice to follow, whether he should endure a seige, & rely upon y^e^ country's affection for his releif, or else draw out into y^e^ feild, & give him battle. It is resolv'd on both sides to give battle & yet neither knew of y^e^ others intention: they both draw out, his excellency thinking to find him w^th^in his fortifications; my L^d^ Fairfax draws out, advancing forwards towards y^e^ camp where his excellency lay. The fortune [forlorn] hope of his excellence's army met unexpectedly w^th^ y^e^ van of y^e^ enemy. They skirmish & are put to retreat. He encourageth his men & puts y^e^ enemy to a stand. They come on fiercer, & beats enemy from one hedge, from one house to another; at last they are driven to retreat & we recover y^e^ moor*: there y^e^ enemy had like to have gain'd our canon; but was manfully defended by a stand of Pikes; now y^e^ battle began to decline on y^e^ other part, so y^t^ their reserve was sent for; but seing Leivetenant General King advance w^th^ all y^e^ horse y^t^ remain'd & wheling about to get between y^e^ town and their forces, & also y^e^ colours advancing in a thick body up y^e^ hill, (for all y^e^ musquiteers were drawn out to equall their shots,)

* Atherton Moor. This battle was fought on the 30th of June.

Stockdaile who stood at my L^d^ Fairfaxes elbow, adviseth my L^d^ not to hazard y^e^ rest, seing all was lost, but to shift for himself: so y^t^ they were totally rout'd: & his excellency y^t^ night sat down before y^e^ Town of Bradford, whether S^r^. Tho. Fairfax was fled*; he soon gain'd this; for being in no condition to hold out, after my L^d^ of Newcastle had broken thro' w^th^ some few horse, y^e^ rest yield'd y^m^ selves to mercy; but w^th^ some difficulty he made this attempt; for w^n^ he had tyr'd himself & his horse, at last he comes to Leeds to his father, ill accountr'd, having broke his stirrop and lost his Pistoles; w^n^ he came to his father he found him resolved to fly to Hull, w^ch^ he endeavour'd to disswade but could not; my L^d^ like an old Gamester knew y^e^ hazard of venturing on still upon hard luck; so having really'd up all their remaining horse makes for Hull w^th^ all speed, taking along w^th^ y^m^ a young child of S^r^. Tho. Fairfaxes; (for his Lady fell into my L^d^ of Newcastle's hands who us'd her w^th^ all civility.) w^n^ this was known to my L^d^ of Newcastle y^t^ my L^d^ of Fairfax was making w^th^ all speed for Hull, he sends after him, & his orders to York, to make out all y^e^ horse they could to stop him at Selby; but as orders are ill obey'd & slowly taken, they come too late; yet some of our horse jumps w^th^ him at Selby, & in y^e^ Town skirmages, but we are put to retreat.

* Rushworth, p. 279. part 3. vol. ii.

S^r. Tho. Fairfax having got a shot in his arm, makes toward Dikes Marish, & his father put over a little boat at Selby & so to Hull. While he was in Selby a good wife brings him, as he sat on horseback, a cup of Ale to drink, and w^th all desir'd him to go to York; you say well, saith he, but I must not go thither yet. We may perceive by this how much y^e body doth darken y^e souls operation, as y^t w^n she draws near a Separacon, & y^t y^e body becomes an unfitt receptacle for her, y^n she begins to have new Notions, & a quite other apprehension of things; her reasonings are otherwise y^n they have been, & she condemns her self in y^t thing she did approve; & questionless my L^d began to see more clearly into y^e rashness of his attempt, w^n he was thus left nak'd of support, & could judge y^t it was but passion, wilful obstinacy, & revenge, w^ch he count'd zeal in pursuance of a good cause; & could find more true contentment w^th one sillable breathed out tending to peace & concord, y^n if he had whole legions arm'd to defend him.

We left his excellency sollacing himself w^th his late victory, w^ch gave new strength courage & health to every soulgier; & he y^t before was mutinous against his officer, & fain would be discharg'd, began to like better of his employment, & more content'd w^th his pay; imputing it to his living idle & not employ'd y^t bred such bad humours in him. Yea y^e officers seem'd better appeas'd & gave not out such

threatening termes as they had done, y^t^ their pay their [they] would have, & seing we had sent for y^m^ they vow'd not to leave y^e^ country till they were paid to a farthing. Now y^e^ country was clear to y^e^ very gates of Hull (saving only Wressel Castle) & no enemy to oppose, w^ch^ mov'd his excellency to march out & visit Darbyshire & [he] sat upon y^e^ commission of array, to recruite y^e^ army: & after y^t^ he march'd into Lynconshire, makes Gainsborough yeild unto him, & had done greater matters in y^t^ country, had he not been too hastily call'd away by y^e^ Gentlemen of Yorkshire, who began again to fear my L^d^ Fairfaxes power: for after he was once got to Hull, his shatterd troops began to drop in one after another, & w^t^ he want'd on foot he made y^e^ country supply him w^th^ out of y^e^ east riding. He begins to enlarge his Quarters, & held Beverly too, & doubt'd not w^th^in a while to be able to visit his dearly belov'd y^e^ west Riding again.

This I say was y^e^ cause y^t^ moved y^e^ Gentlemen to send to his excellency, to desire him to come back; & being come gave their opinions y^t^ his only way would be to beseige him in Hull: & of y^t^ opinion was Leivetenant General King, & y^t^ it might be won, if y^e^ Gentlemen would undertake to raise an addition of fource to those out of y^e^ Country. They go about it, & in severall parts of y^e^ Country sits in commission, makes great Levies if they could be kept together. S^r^. Tho. Fairfax draws out of Hull to Be-

verly, intending to try one encounter more w^th^ his excellence, but being not able to keep y^e^ feild keeps y^e^ town; only himself w^th^ his horse draws forth w^th^out y^e^ Town, & faceth y^e^ forces of his excellency in their advance, but forced to retreat and in conclusion quits y^e^ Town; & making a fair retreat to Hull it fell out to be an ill season, to lay seige to y^t^ Town y^r^ lyeth so low & in water, y^e^ sumer being spent & y^e^ season falling out to be exceeding wett; howsoever his excellence would put it to y^e^ tryall, w^t^ might be done, & so falls on work; S^r^. Tho Fairfax keeps his horse w^th^out y^e^ Town under y^e^ Walls, untill they were forc'd away by being more and more streigthn'd for ground & provisions, for his excellence now began to break ground & make his approaches nearer & nearer; at last they fight, y^e^ enemys making sallies out to beat us from our Works, & we again attempting to take from y^m^ their own works, & did no less, but was beaten out of y^m^ again: for, not thinking y^m^ selves enough, their was orders sent to S^r^. John Meldram into Hull w^th^ a *1000 men, w^ch^ they might easily do on Linconshire side; his excellence thinking to fire y^e^ town sent red hot bullets into it, but they did no hurt at all; thus having tyr'd out his soulgiers w^th^ hard duty, many falling sick w^th^ cold & wett lying, & few of y^e^ array'd men abiding it, he was forc'd to give

* Rushworth says, 500. This siege of Hull was raised October 12, 1642.

over y^e^ seige, leaving behind him, one of y^e^ great Guns,* y^t^ had broken her carryage; & for want of carryage was forc'd to burn his boats w^ch^ he had to march along w^th^ him out of Northumberland for y^e^ passing of his army at any river.

About this time his excellence had intelligence brought y^t^ y^e^ Scots were upon their march, & already passed y^e^ River Tweed.† He makes all y^e^ preparations he can to meet v^m^. he calls v^e^ Gentlemen toge-

* "The Guns they [the Rebels] took, were a Demi-canon in weight 5790*lb.* and Shot 36*lb.* Bullet, (of which size there was another on the north side of the town, and these two were commonly called the Queens Pocket-Pistols, and Gog and Magog) a Demi-Culverin, Four small Drakes in one Carriage, a Sacre-Cut, Two large brass Drakes, Three Barrells and an half of Powder, and many Bullets." Rushworth, p. 281. part 3. vol. ii.

† "Upon the Scots unexpected march into England in January, in a most violent Frost and Snow, hoping to reach New-Castle before it could be fortified, and persuading their Common Soldiers, that it would be delivered to them as soon as required, thither the vigilant Sr. Thomas Glemham had been before sent to attend their coming, and the Marquis of Newcastle with his Army upon the fame of their Invasion marched thither with the resolutiou to fight with them before they should be able to join the English Rebels; leaving in the mean time the command of York, and the Forces for the guard of that County, to Colonel John Bellasis, son to the Lord Falconbridge, a person of great interest in the Country, and of exemplary Industry and Courage." Clarendon, Book vii. (p. 455. vol. ii. part 1.)

97761

ther & gives out Commissions to array y^e^ Country, least y^e^ enemy should get advantage by their speedy march. He tarrys not, but gives orders immediately for his army to march. The Scots were got near Newcastle, & his excellence at Durham sends before his own regiment w^th^ Sr. Arthur Basset, who gets into y^e^ town y^e^ night before y^e^ Scots came. The first attempt y^e^ Scots made, was upon a sconce * y^t^ lay on y^e^ North Side of y^e^ Town; but was gallantly defend'd by S^r^. Charles Slingsby † who gave y^m^ such a repulse, y^t^ they forbore after to make any more attempts, but lay at a defensive guarde; & albeit his excellency drew out & offer'd y^m^ battle, yet they would not, but kept in fast places of advantage, for we exceed'd y^m^ as much in horse as they did us in able foot; yet S^r^. Marmaduke Langdale met w^th^ y^m^ at Corbridge, where he fell upon Kilcowbrie [Kircudbright] & took ‡200 prisoners, besides w^t^ was killed, & all of y^m^ sent to York. S^r^. Charles Lucas §

* See Rushworth, vol. ii. part 3. p. 614.

† Afterwards killed at Long Marston Moor.

‡ Rushworth says, (at the last reference) "The Scots lost this day [Feb. 5. 1643-4] Captain Forbs, a Cornet, and *divers* Common Souldiers, and *Major Agnew taken prisoner.*"

§ Murdered, after the siege of Colchester, August 30, 1648. Rushworth describes Sir Charles Lucas's force as "*twelve* troops of Horse from *Yorkshire* under the command of Sir Charles Lucas." p. 615. part. 3. vol. ii. He joined the Marquis of Newcastle on or before March 6, 1643-5.

at this time was sent out of y^e^ south w^th^ a 1000 horse & Dragoons, to do us cervise in y^e^ North, & now sent for by his Excellence; but Collonell Bellasyse * y^t^ command'd all y^e^ Yorkshire forces, desir'd an assistance before he went, thinking y^t^ w^th^ their joynt forces, they should be able to beat out of y^e^ town [Bradford] some few forces of Collonell Lamberts y^t^ lay in it; but y^e^ success prov'd not; they assault'd y^e^ town but was beaten from it w^th^ loss, having some prisoners taken, & some kill'd. Strange fortune we have had at this Town, for untill his excellency took it after y^e^ battle upon Allerton [Atherton] Moor, we never attempt'd any thing upon it but receiv'd an affront; once by S^r^. Tho. Glemham, once by my L^d^ Goring, & now by Coll. Bellasyse.

Now was S^r^. W^m^. Constable crept out of Hull w^th^ their Horse, making their Carrocols upon y^e^ woulds, & was heard of as far as Pickering. Against him Collonell Bellasyse sends all our horse, & some foot, together w^th^ S^r^. Charles Lucas, to fource him to keep w^th^in Hull, or else to fight him. They march & Quarter about Cölham: they send about for intel-

* Brother-in-Law to Sir Henry: created Baron Bellasyse of of Worlaby, Jan: 27, 1644-5: after the restoration, Lord Lieutenant of the East Riding, Governor of Hull, General of his Majesty's forces in Africa and Governor of Tangier: In the reign of King James II, first Lord of the Treasury: ob. 1689. See Burke's Extinct and Dormant Peerage. This attack upon Bradford was in March 1643-4

ligence where he lay: but [he] could not be heard of: w^n^ y^t^ night, they little fearing of him, he comes & beats up their quarters, takes many prisoners, & so returns to Hull. The Regiments he fell upon were S^r^. Water Vavasors, S^r^ John Keys, & my brother Tho. Slinsgby's who^se^ major was taken prisoner. The comittee of Gentlemen of York were daily in expectation of hearing some good news out of y^e^ north, & hop'd y^t^ his excellency before this would have beat y^e^ Scots out of Northumberland; they judg'd it to be like a fray at a Markett Cross, soon begun & soon end'd; but long experience hath taught their General wisely to detract fighting, knowing y^t^ a victory could not gain him so much as a bad disaster might prejudice. Not w^th^standing, y^e^ committy had reason to desire an end of their trouble, considering how it lay upon y^m^ to provide for my Lords army even out of Yorkshire; so much had y^e^ army's wast'd y^e^ Countrys where they lay; yet was their censuring but ill taken & [had] been worse if S^r^. Tho. Fairfax his coming again to Yorkshire had not cur'd those prejudices, like a fitt of an ague by a fear before. I told you y^t^ he was forc'd to march out of Hull, w^th^ his horse, & since y^t^ hath been making tryalls of his friends in severall countrys & found y^m^ well affect'd to y^e^ cause, but few willing to march out of their Country; yet w^th^ those recruits & supplys he had, he propos'd to try his fortune once again in Yorkshire: to this effect he writ unto his

father at Hull, & y^e^ Governour of York Coll: Bellasyse intercepts, finding y^e^ letter made up & inclos'd in state.

[1644.]

To prevent y^e^ conjuncture of S^r^. Tho. Fairfax & his father, Collonell Bellasyse * march'd out of York w^th^ all our Yorkshire forces both horse & foot, unto Selby, & endeavouring to hinder their meeting; but was not able: my L^d^ Fairfax having y^e^ benefitt of y^e^ river to pass w^n^ & where he would. Whereupon Collonell Bellasyse resolves to hold y^m^ out at Selby. They send in their summons; he sends y^m^ word back again he would not deliver it up to a rebell; this answer insens'd my L^d^ Fairfax; they prepare to storm; Coll. Bellasyse to defend himself; Coll. Strickland offers, that give him but 200 men, & he would undertake to make good y^t^ part of y^e^ town w^ch^ should be judg'd y^e^ weakest, & falls a working y^t^ night.

The next morning my L^d^ Fairfax falls on & in a short time enters y^e^ town both w^th^ horse & foot:

* "But much worse Fortune [i. e. than in his attempt on Bradford] had the same Collonel Bellasis soon after at Selby, whither he drew his forces to hinder the conjunction of the two Fairfax's, which defeat was the cause of the Marquess of Newcastle's return out of the North." Rushworth, p. 617. part 3. vol. ii. The fight at Selby took place, April 11, 1644.

such as could get over the bridge (for a bridge they had made of boats) made speed to York, some to Cawood: taken & list'd as prisoners to y^e^ number of 80 officers besides Comon soulgiers.

This proved a fatall blow to us, much lament'd for y^e^ loss of Coll. Bellasyse, of whom at first none could give any certain report whether he was kill'd or taken; so it prov'd of consequence to y^e^ parliament as y^e^ very dawning of y^t^ day w^ch^ brought prosperous success unto y^m^: for they had long expect'd y^e^ assistance of y^e^ Scots, & now y^t^ he was come he could neither get farther, nor my L^d^ Fairfax come at him, w^th^out this obstacle were remov'd or ruin'd. The countrys of y^e^ North were much wasted, & y^e^ armys could not long lye one against y^e^ other, but starve! Their horses dy'd and their men weary of such hard duty being in Winter frost & Snow, would not endure longer but began to run away.

The Scots must be forc'd to retreat, not having S^r^. Tho. Fairfaxes assistance as was look'd for, if this unfortunate news had not come unto y^m^ of y^e^ beating & routing our Yorkshire forces. His excellence hearing of these, marches w^th^ all speed to York* least this late victory might so heighten y^e^ enemy & discourage us, as y^t^ they might attempt some w^t^ on y^e^ Citty of York, having diverse w^th^ y^m^ inhabitance

* The Marquis of Newcastle [so created, October 27, 1643.] returned to York, April 19.

[inhabitants] y^t had forsaken their houses, & gone w^th y^m, & many in York y^t did but faintly assist, being weari'd w^th payments. Like those y^t are in pain, thinks they could endure better any where y^n where they are.

His excellence his coming was diversly receiv'd; we in York were glad y^t we had y^e assistance of his army, y^e foot to be put into y^e Citty for y^e defence of it, & y^e horse to march to y^e prince to enable him y^e better to releive us. Y^e country man was glad he came w^th y^e Scots at his back, for now they said they should pay no more sesments, w^ch was but y^e hope to ease a Gall'd horses back by shifting saddles. The Scot follow him*, & would be now & y^n troubling him in y^e rear, making their march together.

The Scots rendevous was upon Bramham Moor, where he & my L^d Fairfax meets, & takes up their Quarters; The Scots at Bishopthorp & Middlethorp, my L^d Fairfax at Foulfourth & Hesslington, by making over Ouse a bridge of boats; Thus we were blockt up upon two sides of y^e town, & y^e rest we had open for about 3 weeks, until such times as my L^d Manchester came with his Norfolk men†, whom it seem'd y^e Scots did expect, & y^n clos'd us up on

* The Scotch and Lord Fairfax's Army joined at Tadcaster, April 20, and thence marched together to invest York. Rushworth, p. 620. part 3. vol. ii.

† The Earl of Manchester's Foot joined in the Siege of York, June 3, 1644.

every side; provisions we had in good store in y^e^ town but mony we had none; w^ch^ bred us some trouble to help out, & many complaints both from soulgiers and Townsmen. My L^d^ took a course to have y^m^ billet'd, & proportionably laid upon, both y^e^ Gentlemen & officer, either to find y^m^ meat, or mony after a groat a man p^r^ diem; w^ch^ for my share came to 4*l.* 5*s.* a week, y^e^ mony being rais'd out of y^e^ corn w^ch^ I brought into y^e^ Town; this fell heavily upon some, y^t^ being Sojourners & in great want, yet was fourc'd to maintain a Soulgier, tho' they were put to y^e^ shift to borrow; and their was no remedy, for y^e^ soulgier knew him y^t^ was appoint'd to pay him, & if he refus'd y^e^ soulgier lays hands on him or any thing he had.

W^n^ y^e^ enemy had thus beseig'd us, he began to make his approaches, & rais'd a battery upon y^e^ Windmill hill, as y^e^ way lyes to Heslington; plants upon [it] 5 peices of Canon & playes continually into y^e^ town, they come nearer to us & takes y^e^ Suburbs w^th^out Waingate barr, plants 2 peices in y^e^ street against y^e^ barr, another at y^e^ Dovecoat w^th^in a stones cast of y^e^ barr; y^n^ he works under ground close by y^e^ barr, & makes his mines in 2 severall places; likewise Manchester, who had his Quaters about Clifton & Huworth, was not less active, but makes his approaches, works his mines under S^t^. Mary's tower w^th^ out Botham barr, & rais'd a battery against y^e^ mannor Wall y^t^ ly'd to y^e^ orchard;

he begins to play w^th^ his Cannon & throws down peice of y^e^ Wall. We fall to work & make it up w^th^ earth & sods; this happn'd in y^e^ morning: at noon they spring y^e^ mine under S^t^. Mary's tower, & blows up one part of it, w^ch^ falling outwards made y^e^ access more easy*; Then some at y^e^ breach, some w^th^ Ladders, getts up & enters, near 500.

S^r^. Philip Biron y^t^ had y^e^ guard at y^t^ place, leading up some men was unfortunately kill'd as he open'd y^e^ doors into y^e^ bowling green whither y^e^ enemy was gotten; but y^e^ difficulty was not much, we soon beat y^m^ out again, having taken 200 prisoners & kill'd many of y^m^, as might be seen in y^e^ bowling green, Orchard & Garden; y^e^ Scots were all y^e^ while busie about y^e^ mine, & we as busy in countermining, but at length both give over being hinder'd by water; they had beaten down y^e^ top of y^e^ barr as low as y^e^ gate, w^ch^ we had barricaded up w^th^ earth, & besides had made a travers against it, & pull'd down some houses near y^e^ gate: sallyes we

* "The Scots Major-General Craford sprung this mine without the knowledge of the two other Generals, who might have allarmed the City in other parts." Rushworth, p. 631. part 3. vol. ii. In the fall of this tower perished a great body of the history of our Country: it was the repository of the Records of all the dissolved Religious Houses North of Trent, and the greater part perished. Dodsworth's transcripts from them are preserved in the Bodleian Library. For an account of the blowing up of the Tower, and MSS. See Drake's Eboracum, p. 575.

made few or none, having only middlegate barr open, & a little sally port at Munk barr, where we once made a sally out against Manchester's men. Our horse guards would be pikering, & now & y^n killing, & taking of y^e Scots, & among y^m one Bellintine, a major, whom they made great moan for; some redoubts they took by storm, as one in Bishopfeilds, & another on a windmill hill towards Bishopthorp. But this was no great loss more y^n y^e killing of y^e men; for but one they kept, y^e other they slight'd, & we still send [to] y^e feilds to keep our cows and horses: but our provisions still wast'd & would have an end w^thout we had relieфe; therefore my L^d would make tryall to send to y^e prince to inform him of y^e condition y^e town was in; he chuseth out 8 undertakes to go to y^e prince & either pass y^e Scouts undescern'd or else break thro' y^m; but all or most of these were taken; we made fires upon y^e minster w^ch ansuér'd us again from Pomphret, but a messenger could hardly pass*. They kept so strict guards, as I could not get any either in y^e night, or day, to go to Red house & bring me back word how my children did, but were taken either going or coming: but at last he whom we so long look'd for was heard of coming to our releif: not so be-

* Prince Rupert took Stopworth in Cheshire, May 25, and relieved Lathom House where the illustrious Countess of Derby had been besieged eighteen weeks: he took Bolton in Lancashire, May 28, and Liverpool June 11.

leiv'd but y^t we were still in some doubt, till we perceiv'd y^e Scots had drawn off their guards, w^ch our Centinells gave us notice of; mistrusting it by reason their Centinells had given over talking w^th y^m & would not answer w^n they call'd to y^m as usually they had done*.

S^r. James Dudly y^t command'd at Waingate barr, sends out over y^e Wall 12 foot men & as many horsemen, w^ch they might lead over an earth work att y^e end of y^e stone wall y^t is towards y^e Castle Mills, to discover w^t became of y^e enemy. W^n these went, there was no stay, but all y^e Troop would go, & a great many more of y^e foot: they find their Hutts empty; their horse commanded by Major Constable advanceth further towards fowlforth; about half y^e way distance they perceiv'd some horse in y^e Town, & presently y^e trumpt sounds to charge. Our horse was forc'd to stand, y^t our foot might y^e better retreat to y^e walls, & stays so long till they were forc'd to charge, & presently mingl'd one w^th another; in this charge they took some of ours prisoners, & we kill'd a Cornett of theirs w^ch they said should have marry'd S^r. Tho. Notclift [Norcliffe] his sister, & they shot Capt. Squire a Yorkman in y^e back. Thus they part'd, we to our Garison, & they to their Randevous

* The Rebels raised the Siege of York July 1, on the notice of Prince Rupert's approach, and drew off to Long Marston Moor, six miles from York.

on Knapton Moor, where all of y^{m} meet, & for hast had lost a boat load of shoes & other provisions w^{ch} they could not carry away.

The prince now was come wthin 3 or 4 miles of York, upon y^{e} forest side, & sends in to my L^{d} of Newcastle, to meet him wth those forces he had in York; & it was upon y^{e} 2^{d} of July 1644 w^{n} my L^{d} march'd out wthall those forces he had, leaving only in y^{e} town Coll. Bellasyse Regiment, S^{r}. Tho. Glemham's Regiment, & my own, w^{ch} was y^{e} Citty Regiment. The prince pass'd over at Poppleton where y^{e} Scots had made a bridge of boats, & follows y^{e} Scots in y^{e} rear, who were now upon their march, towards Marston, & in so much hast as if they meant to march clear away; y^{e} prince follows on & makes an hault at Marston town, the Scots y^{n} marching up y^{e} feild, y^{e} direct way to Tadcaster; but upon y^{e} top of y^{e} Hill they face & front towards y^{e} prince, who till now was persuad'd y^{t} they meant not to give him battle, but to march quite away. Now y^{e} prince bestirs himself, putting his men in such order as he intend'd to fight, & sending away to my L^{d} of Newcastle to march wth all speed. The enemy makes some shot at him as they were drawing up into Battalio, & y^{e} first shot kills a son of S^{r}. Gilbert Haughton y^{t} was Capt. in y^{e} prince's army, but this was only a shewing their teeth, for after 4 shots made them give over, & in Marston corn feilds falls to singing psalms: y^{e} princes horse had y^{e} right wing,

my L[d] Goring y[e] left *; y[e] foot dispos'd of w[th] most advantage to fight, some of y[m] drawn off to line y[e] hedges of y[e] Cornfeilds, where y[e] enemy must come to charge. Y[e] enemy's forces consisting of 3 parts, y[e] Scots, Manchester & Fairfax, were one mix'd w[th] another; Cromwell having y[e] left wing drawn into 5 bodys of horse, came off the Cony Warren, by Bilton bream, to charge our horse, & upon their first charge rout'd y[m]; they fly along by Wilstrop † woodside, as fast & as thick could be; yet our left Wing prest as hard upon their right wing, & pursu'd y[m] over y[e] Hill; after our horse was gone they fall upon our foot, & altho a great while they maintain'd y[e] fight yet at last they were cut down & most part either

* Rushworth says the left wing of horse was commanded by Sir Charles Lucas and Colonel Hurry [Urry] but he is probably wrong, as he confesses just after, that "who commanded their main body, whether General Goring, or Major-General Porter, or Major-General Tyliard, or all of them, I have not been able to learn: nor do I find what particular charge the Marquess of Newcastle had this day in the field, tho' tis certain he was engaged very valiantly in the Battel."

† "The graves are yet to be seen [of the persons buried by the Countrymen after the fight] near Wilstrop Wood .... A curious circumstance which seems to be well attested, relative to this engagement, is said to have occurred within these few years: on cutting down the wood belonging to Lord Petre, on one side of Marston Moor, the sawyers found many bullets in the hearts of the trees." Hargrove's Knaresborough, pp. 351-2. ed. 1798.

taken or kill'd. Here I lost a Nephew, Coll. John Fenwick, & a kinsman S^r. Cha^s. Slingsby, both of y^m slain in y^e field; y^e former could not be found to have his body brought off, y^e latter was found & buri'd in York minster. They pursu'd not, but kept y^e feild as many as were left, for they were fled as fast as we, & their 3 Generalls gone, thinking all had been lost. We came late to York, w^ch made a great confusion; for at y^e barr none was suffer'd to come in but such as were of y^e town, so y^t y^e whole street was throng'd up to y^e barr w^th wound'd & lame people, w^ch made a pitiful cry among y^m.

The Prince y^e next morning march'd out w^th y^e remaining horse, & as many of his footmen as he could force, leaving y^e rest in York, w^ch were entertain'd into several Regiments, as well to have y^m to do duty as to provide for y^m Quarter & billet. The prince marches out of Munck barr, & so Northwards towards Richmond, where he meets w^th Coll. Clavering, w^th some forces coming towards him; my L^d of Newcastle & Leivetenant General King going to Scarbrough, where they took shipping to go beyond sea. Thus were we left at York, out of all hope of releif, y^e town much distract'd, & every one ready to abandon her: & to encourage y^m y^t were left in y^e town, & to get y^m to stay, they were fain to give out false reports, y^t y^e prince had fallen upon y^e enemy suddenly & rout'd y^m, & y^t he was coming back again to y^e Town; yet many left us, not liking to abide

another seige; w^ch after began; for y^e enemy taking a few days respite to bury their dead, to provide for y^e wound'd, & to gather up such scatter'd troops of foot & horse as had left y^e feild, (for by this time their Generals were return'd,) They were now in readiness to march back again to York; they make at their 2^d coming new batteries, one between Waingate-barr & Laterne Posterne, & another upon y^e hill in Bishops feilds; & had made a bridge to clap over y^e Fosse & store of Hurdles for a storme, where by y^e Laterne Posterne it was most easy, having nothing but y^e ditch, w^th drought almost dry, for to hinder their entrance.

*Therefore thinking it not fit to hazard y^e town, having no hopes to be releived, we capitulate on article, & upon y^t day forthnith y^e battle was, we yeild y^e town: & y^t upon very good conditions if they had been kept; for we were to march out w^th our armys, & w^th flying colours, to have convey till

* "And so York was left to the discretion of Sr. Thomas Glemham, the Governor thereof, to do with it as he thought fit; being in a condition only to deliver it up with more decency, not to defend it against an enemy that would require it! ... After two days they [the Rebels] returned to the posts they had before had in the siege; and so streightened the town, that the Governour, when he had no hope of relief, within a fortnight was compelled to deliver it up, upon as good Articles for the town and the Gentry that were in it, and for himself and the few Soldiers he had left, as he could propose." Clarendon, Book viii. (p. 505. vol. ii. part 2.)

we came w^th^in 12 miles of y^e^ prince; those y^t^ would, might tarry in y^e^ Town: those y^t^ would not, might have carts provid'd to convey such household good stuff as they had in y^e^ Town; to have protection, & enjoy their estates. Upon these articles we march out, but find a failing in y^e^ performance at y^e^ very first, for y^e^ soulgier was pilleg'd, our Wagons plunder'd, mine y^e^ first day, & others y^e^ next. Thus disconsolate we march, forc'd to leave our Country, unless we would apostate, not daring to see mine own house, nor take a farewell of my Children, altho' we lay y^e^ first night at Hessey w^th^in 2 miles of my house*.

* To this fatal battle of Long Marston Moor must be attributed the consequent failure of the Royal cause. The success of the Royal cause at the time when the Rebels raised the siege [July 1, the day before the battle of Long Marston Moor] might, as far as anything human, have been considered certain: Ludlow says, "If Prince Rupert, who had acquired honour enough by the Relief of York in the view of three Generals, could have contented himself with it, and retreated as he might have done, without fighting, the Reputation he had gained would have caused his Army to increase like the rolling of a Snow-ball; but he thinking this nothing unless he might have all, forced his enemies to a Battel against the Advice of many of those that were with him." This, it must be remembered is the testimony of an enemy. Prince Rupert's hasty retreat and the Marquis's flight out of the kingdom completed the misfortunes of the battle: Clarendon says, "This may be said of it, that the like was never done, or heard, or read of before; that

two great Generals, whereof one had still a good Army left.... and the other, having the absolute Commission over the Northern Counties, and very many considerable places in them still remaining under his Obedience, should both agree in nothing else but in leaving that good City [York] and the whole country, as a prey to the Enemy; who had not yet the Courage to believe that they had the Victory; the Scots having been so totally routed, (as hath been said before) their General made Prisoner by a Constable, and detained in Custody till most part of the next day was past; and most of the Officers and Army having marched or run above ten miles northward, before they had news that they might securely return."

But together with this passage should be read a letter of the King's in a correspondence appended to Evelyn's Diary, p. 121. et. seqq. 8vo. ed: dated June 14, 1644, which the Editor seems to think accounts satisfactorily for Prince Rupert's conduct. The King lays so much stress upon beating the Rebels who besieged York that a clue is certainly given to what may have been design on the part of Prince Rupert, instead of the rashness which Clarendon imputes to him. Prince Rupert is said to have alleged such a letter as his reason for fighting the battle.

Sir Henry here ends the first part of his Diary: he seems to have made no addition to it during the next two years, being actively employed in personally aiding the broken fortunes of his Royal Master. The second part begins, exactly where this leaves off, with a recapitulation of the events of those two important years, in which Sir Henry was himself concerned.

The end of y^{e} first part.

The 2 part.

Now I will tell my own story, where I have been ever since I march'd out of York [July 16, 1644.] until y^e^ 7 of May [1646]; for I have now good leisure in y^e^ solitariness wherein I live: & y^e^ setting down y^e^ places & times wherein I spent my 2 years peregrination, & y^e^ taking & revew thereof will serve to put off y^e^ tediousness of my close retirement; for ever since my coming out of Newark* (w^ch^ this day is 27 weeks & 2 days) I have for y^e^ most part kept w^th^ in my hottle; but since they came for me, I have escap'd y^m^; & I betake my self to one room in my house, scarce known to my servants, where I spend my days in great sylence, scarce dare to speak or walk but w^th^ great heed taken least I be discover'd. Et jam veniet tacito curva senecta pede: & why I should be thus aim'd at I know not, if I [my] neighbourhood to York makes y^m^ not more quarrelsome. As, acerima proximorum odia, so, heat & cold, if they meet in a cloud produceth thunder. My own disposition is to love quietness, & since y^e^

* Newark was surrendered May 8, 1646.

King will'd me to go home w^n I parted from him at* Topcliffe.

It was y^e 7 of May †, w^n my Commission was dated, 1641; w^ch I took y^e more notice of being a discharge from his service y^e very day of y^e month y^t I came into his service by y^e date of my Commission, which was y^e ii of May. I resolved to keep at home if my Lord Mayor &. Alderman Watson would have permitted me quietly to live there; but they would not suffer me to have y^e benefit of y^e articles of Newarke ‡, w^ch gave us liberty 3 months to live at home undisturb'd; but from York they send to take me w^thin y^e first month; & all is to try me w^th y^e Negative oath & national Covenant. The one makes me renounce my alegiance; y^e other my religion. For y^e oath, why it should be impos'd [on] us not to assist y^e King, w^n all means is taken from us whereby

* The King was then with the Scotch Army which was marching northward, after the surrender of Newark.

† This Commission is still in perfect preservation.

‡ In the third Article of the surrender of Newark it was provided, "That all officers in Commission, or that had been formerly in Commission, shall march away with their Horses, Arms, and their proper Goods, &c. to any Garrison not besieged or blocked up, or to their own Houses as they shall make choice of: And such Goods as cannot be removed, the owners shall have three months Liberty to dispose of them." The Articles are given by Rushworth, pp. 638-9, 40. part 3. vol. ii.

we might assist him, and to assist in this warr w^ch^ is now come to an end & nothing in all England held for y^e^ King, I see no manner of reason, unless they would have us do a wick'd act, & they the authors, out of greater spite to wound both soul & body. For now y^e^ not taking of it cannot much prejudice y^m^, & y^e^ taking of y^e^ oath will much prejudice us, being contrary to former oaths w^ch^ we have taken; & against Civill Justice, w^ch^ as it abhors Neutrality, so it will not admitt a man should falsify y^t^ trust w^ch^ he hath given. This is commendable in y^e^ mouths of our very enemys, who hath been known to use a man y^e^ better for his constancy to that side he hath taken, & will not be bought & sold: & more cause there is when his obligation stands towards his prince. W^ch^ y^e^ Germans so much reverenc'd & record'd it for their greatest commendation, as they held it for a perpetual Infamy & reproach to return alive from y^t^ battle in w^ch^ their prince was slain; being the principallest part of their oath to defend & maintain him & ascribe their own exploits to his glory & honour.

One of y^e^ family of y^e^ Claudii was commend'd for his constancy y^t^ he would not forsake Antony, & w^n^ all others had yield'd y^m^ selves to Augustus, he only stood to him. Et Solus ipse permansit in partibus. As for y^e^ covenant they would have me take, there is first reason y^t^ I should be convinc'd of y^e^ Lawfulness of it, before I take it & not urg'd, as y^e^ Mahometans do their disciples, by fource & not by reason; but y^e^

Turks have found a new way of converting, y^t^ seeing y^e^ world will not be convert'd by Miracles w^ch^ are done, he will try w^t^ fource can do & certainly y^t^ opinion had need of a Miracle to confirm it y^t^ doth overthrow not only y^e^ faith of particular men but whole ages too; for by this new religion w^ch^ is impos'd you make every man y^t^ takes it up guilty either of having no religion, & so become an Atheist, or else a religion put off or on, as [he] doth his hat, to every one he meets; but you would have me conform to y^t^ faith or the definition of faith & religion w^ch^ you have made! but w^th^ all see how impartiall you are, for mutato nomine de te fabula narratur; where in former times it was thought greivious that conformity should be impos'd by y^e^ bishopps w^n^ y^e^ scruple should be only a Cap or a Sirples, you scrupled at y^e^ out branches only, but we scruple to have root and branch pluck'd up; therefore judg of our scruple by y^r^ own. It makes me remember y^t^ riddle of y^e^ water and y^e^ Ice. Mater me genuit, eadem mox gignitur ex me. We once got you, but now you get us. God keep us out of y^r^ hands. Time was w^n^ we were y^e^ head & you y^e^ feet, but now you are y^e^ head and we y^e^ feet; therefore consider of our steps by your own. You turn'd Schismaticks & departed from y^t^ faith wherein you were baptized, we make not y^e^ Quarrel, it is you. Therefore w^th^ more reason may we expect y^e^ having of y^t^ w^ch^ you call'd a Liberty for tender conscience; & [do] not

condemn us for y^t w^ch you once approv'd in y^r selves.

*The 2 day of our March was to Knasborough, & in our March we were much molest'd by Manchester's horse, y^t cast Stone at us, & tho we had a guard of 7 Troops, yet could they not, or would they not, prevent y^m from plundering, but in y^e feild before Allerton Mauleverer where we made a hault till our rear was brought up, we were forc'd to endure affronts by some of y^e enemys y^t came among us & would snatch y^e Soulgiers hats from their heads, & their swords from their sides, & tho we complain'd of it to y^e officer yet could we have no remedy; & going a little further into a straight Lane they overturn'd y^e first waggon, w^ch was my Lady Wottons, & fell a plundering it, & y^e rest before we came to Knasborough. Whaley, Cromwell's Leivet: Coll: meets us & goes along w^th us, discoursing of y^e fight on Marston Moor, desirous to see S^r Richard Hutton at whose house† he quarter'd, & would fain have invit'd him to his own house where his Lady was; but he would not; & likewise would have persuad'd me to abide at home, shewing how much he desir'd to shake hands with me. Upon Knasborough forrest we made a handsome shew w^th those Troops of our guard,

* Sir Henry here resumes the narrative where he left off at the end of the first part, viz. on the march to Knaresborough after the surrender of York.

† Goldsborough.

for we march'd with their Colours, but not with above 6 or 7 score men.

Namely, one of Coll. Titus's, one of S^r. J^n. Girlington's, & one of mine, w^th such only of y^e prince's men as were left in York, & S^r. Tho. Glemham's 9 colours, but they soon left their colours & would take y^e nearest way to go to y^e prince. Our guards we discharg'd at Otley & so march'd on to Skipton, where we were given to understand y^t y^e prince was y^n at Leverpoole who had been not long before at Kirby Longdale, whither we were y^n a marching. At Kirby Longdale I met w^th S^r. Marmaduke Langdale who was y^n come w^th his horse into Westmoorland, & upon treating w^th y^e gentlemen for raising a 1000 men in y^t county & a 1000*l.* in mony. Here I left S^r. Tho. Glemham, who design'd to go to Carlile & keep y^t garrison, & I steer'd my course into Cartmell & Fourhess, a part of Lancastershire where at y^t time S^r. John Mainye was w^th a Brigade of horse of broken shatter'd regiments, consisting of one regiment of his own, one of S^r. John Pristin's [Preston's], one of * S^r. Robert Dallyson's, & one of † Coll. Evere's, & some of my ‡ L^d Henry Cavendishe's, my L^d of Newcastle's son's, regiment. Here also was Major

* Sir *Thomas* Dallyson was killed at Naseby.

† William, sixth Lord Eure or Evre was killed at Long Marston Moor.

‡ Afterwards second Duke of Newcastle, of the Cavendish family.

Palmer w^th^ about 100 foot soulgiers of *S^r^. Michael Earnley's Regiment w^th^ order to recruit y^m^ in this country. It is a kind of an Iseland, not to be got into but upon low water, over huge Fells as it lies towards Cumberland & part of Westmoorland.

Here we found our Quarters sweet, not sullied by others trading, having had no soulgiers to trouble y^m^ before we came, w^ch^ made y^e^ countrey men not so kind as to welcome us. For having assembl'd y^m^ selves together w^th^ y^t^ aid they got from y^e^ parliament ships w^ch^ lay by y^e^ pile† of Foudres [Fouldrey] resolve to beat these forces out of y^e^ country. S^r^. J^n^. Mayne [Maney] was advertis'd hereof by some y^t^ gave intelligence, & by letters intercept'd wherein they seem to undertake [underrate] their adversary, giving out they were but a few inconsiderable horse that had run away, & if y^e^ country would rise they should see y^m^ fly as fast as y^e^ hare before y^e^ hounds. Sir John Mainy's Quarter was at Dalton, w^ch^ lay 4 miles distant from y^e^ pile of Foudres, where y^e^ enemy intend'd to find him out, & either beat him from y^e^ town; w^ch^ was not at all fortify'd, or fight him fairly in y^e^ feild. Y^e^ soulgiers were at a sermont, w^n^ y^e^ Alaram was brought y^t^ y^e^ enemy came marching towards y^m^, for they meant not to come by way of supprise, but

* Killed at Shrewsbury, Feb. 1644.

† For a description of the Pile or Castle of Fouldrey [Fowl Island], see West's Antiquities of Furness.

would try y^e^ mastery by fource of arms. S^r^. J^n^. was drawn out w^th^ his horse into y^e^ feild a mile off Dalton near S^r^. J^n^. Prestons house: the enemy had taken into a little town not above twice muskett shot off from our horse. Their horse was not many & drawn behind y^e^. town; their foot had taken, some into houses, & some into a pinfold y^t^ was walled w^th^ stone & stood in y^e^ middle of y^e^ Town: y^e^ rest had lin'd y^e^ hedges on either side. S^r^. J^n^. draws his horse into 3 bodys, two he sends to beat off y^e^ foot, & himself charges directly forwards into y^e^ town. After one shot given they quit y^e^ Town & retreat to y^e^ rest of y^e^ foot in y^e^ feild: those in y^e^ pinfold were taken or kill'd: Their horse had y^e^ advantage of a deep cross way, y^t^ our horse could not but with difficulty come at y^m^; & seeing y^m^ not stick at any difficulty betakes y^m^ to their heels, & y^e^ foot after y^m^.

They chase y^e^ foot to y^e^ very sides of y^e^ ships; their horse took by wayes, as knowing well y^e^ country. There was taken, besides kill'd, 200 foot w^ch^ were sent to the Prince; & 17 sailors & some rich countrymen were kept prisoners at Dalton Castle, whom y^e^ prince had given for Exchange, & [to] make their advantage by randsome or otherwise. We lost not any; only S^r^. J^n^. Preston had his horse kill'd, & it may seeme y^t^ being down some of y^e^ foot running by gave him a knock on y^e^ head, but some thought it was by falling upon a stone, for y^e^ contusion of his

scull was made so in y^e^ middle of it as one could not imagine how y^e^ fall should make it. He lay in a swoon & speechless many days, but his perfect sense & understanding he recover'd not for half a year after. The next day at night S^r^ John intends to surprize y^e^ enemy y^t^ lay in Northscales, a town in Wawne [Walney] Iseland w^ch^ is a narrow screed of land lying before Fourness & serving for a countermure to hold off y^e^ violence of y^e^ sea on y^t^ part w^ch^ lys against y^e^ Isle of Man. They must take a time, w^n^ y^e^ sea was at an ebb, otherwise there was no going into it, & y^t^ might be done in less y^n^ 6 hours. S^r^ John comes upon y^m^ w^n^ it was dark, but not so cunningly but y^t^ he was perceiv'd & they in arms ready for him. Y^e^ town lyes upon y^e^ sands, wash'd at every Tide w^th^ y^e^ sea: he causeth his horse to be drawn up on every side upon y^e^ sands close by y^e^ town, where y^e^ enemy perceiving him gives him a Volley, kills his horse (w^ch^ was y^e^ same y^t^ Gilbert † Slingsby was killed upon) & an officer of his own w^ch^ was next him; w^ch^ coming unexpectedly made y^e^ horse to run, & no more was done at y^t^ time.

The next day he comes again, & finding y^e^ enemy had quitt'd it, he set fire to it & burns it down to the ground, except 2 houses, & one was a stone house, y^e^ other a straw thatch'd. Y^e^ owner had been of y^e^ King's party, as may appear: for, when he dy'd,

* This should be *Gulford*; Strafford's secretary.

he charg'd his sons upon his blessing not to take up arms against y^e^ King. (Not to make any observation upon y^e^ same do I set down this occurrent, but because it was told me by y^e^ man y^t^ had his will, y^t^ assured me y^e^ truth of it.) Thus he carrying on his business w^th^ so much success had so subdu'd y^e^ minds of his countrymen, as he now had y^m^ all at his devotion. W^n^ he summon'd y^m^ they appear, & profess their cervise for y^e^ King, & would bring in their monys upon his warrant, being part of it y^e^ King's rent. I saw a thousand w^th^ such arms as they had in a readiness to serve the King, so y^t^ it is to me a wonder y^t^ this country, being but part of a division in Lancastershire, could be able to do so much; namely to furnish a 1000 men & pay 2000*l.* not w^th^ standing y^e^ many losses they receiv'd by Troopers.

With this mony he paid y^e^ horse, & yet sent a 1000*l.* to Carlile to S^r^. Tho. Glemham, to be kept for y^e^ princes use. The 2 time y^e^ Country men were sumon'd & met, S^r^. John causeth y^m^ to be list'd under severall Cap^t^, & had y^m^ to keep their guard at Ulverston about four miles from Dalton; w^ch^ they were willing to do, so far as might be defence to their country; but none were willing to be taken out of their Country. W^n^ they were all met together at a randevous, S^r^. John had an old parson, that had in former times been a preist of y^e^ Roman Church, to preach unto y^m^, and his sermon was to dehort y^m^ from Rebellion. His Pulpit was a huge stone w^ch^ he

leand upon, the Countrymen standing round about him, very attentive to hear; this preist had for his pains paid him 50*l*. w^ch^ had been formerly paid unto him as a pension by y^e^ King, out of those monys S^r^. John had receiv'd of y^e^ Kings rents.

After this, y^e^ ships y^t^ lay at y^e^ pile of Foudres, was sent for away to ly before Leverpoole, w^ch^ S^r^. John Meldram had beseig'd*; but before their going, Cap^t^. Tatan, y^t^ command'd y^m^, sent to treat w^th^ S^r^. J^n^. Mainy about exchange of prisoners. Hereupon articles were drawn & interchangeable sign'd. S^r^. John was willing to release his sailors, upon promise y^t^ Cap^t^ Tatan would procure releasment for some officers of his taken in y^e^ Isle of Oxholme w^n^ he command'd there. But hereof there was no performance by Capt. Tatan, for he had to deal w^th^ one of another element & therefore might easily delude him.

After our ships were gone we remov'd our Quarters from Dalton to M^r^. Preston's house at †Howker [Holker], where he had extream good entertainment; a house free for all comers, & no grudging at any Cost, tho' we eat him up at his table; & y^e^ Troopers in y^e^ feild, stealing his sheepe, & not sparing his corn y^t^ stood in y^e^ feild; & here we took our pastime, &

* Liverpool was beseiged by Sir John Meldrum in the Autumn of 1644, and was taken November 1.

† For a pedigree of the Prestons of the Abbey and of Holker, see West's Antiquities of Furness.

would go out to hunt & course y^e^ deer: untill Dodding on Lancaster side, & y^e^ Scots on Westmoorland side, made us to look about us how to secure our selves. We once thought to have fortify'd y^e^ pile of Foures [Fouldrey], & to y^t^ purpose we went to view it, but we found it so ruinous, nothing remaining but walls, & part of y^m^ wash'd away w^th^ y^e^ sea; & tho' it might be made a Harbour for shipping, yet y^e^ Chanel lying too far distant, y^e^ Castle could not comand, unless there were some Bulworks made w^th^out, w^ch^ would be an excessive charge, considering y^e^ Castle lay far from land every way, & but at a low water could you ride unto it. Finding our selves in no condition to stay, we resolve to march out of y^e^ Country w^th^ such forces as we brought into it, saving y^t^ w^ch^ Leivet. Coll. Kirby brought into y^e^ country & were willing to march out w^th^ us; we should have had another Troop of Cap^t^ Jackson's, one y^t^ had been Quarter Master to my L^d^ of Cumberland at York, but he play'd fast & loose, & w^n^ he should have come to us carryes away his Troop to y^e^ enemy to Lancaster; he promiseth to come, & was march'd unto y^e^ sands where our horse was Quarter'd over against us, to keep guard for our security against y^e^ enemy y^t^ lay at Wharton on y^e^ other side; our horse took y^e^ alaram thinking it had been y^e^ enemy, but drawing near him he made known his intention to come unto y^m^, yet he could not come y^t^ night by reason there had fallen so much fresh water y^t^ kept

y^e tide high, y^t his carriage.* could not pass; but y^e next day he would come; & y^e next news we heard was y^t he was gone to Lancaster.

The divisions y^t were amongst our officers made S^r. John in no capacity to stay, for some would by no means be perswaded, but y^t they would march to y^e Prince, tho' they were in never so great hazard, especially Major Palmer, y^t came to recruit & in command under S^r. John; yet at length were perswaded to stay, if they might be entertain'd by y^e Gentlemen of Wesmoorland. Here upon S^r. John went over to Kendall, to meet with y^e Gentlemen of y^t country, but he could not bring y^m upon any terms to consent y^t his horse should be receiv'd into their service. Then he sends to Carlile to S^r. Tho. Glemham, offering his service into y^t Garrison. But y^e Scots coming into Wesmoorland had so coop'd up his horse y^t he was forced to send away part of y^m w^th great hazard to y^mselves, marching day & night, & thro' by ways unexpect'd they got at last to Skipton, & but one day before us. For upon y^t 10^th of September we set forwards our march towards Skipton, & by marching in y^e night pass'd thro' y^e enemy y^t lay on every side; we had but one stop w^ch [was] at a place near Ingleton, where y^e enemy had set a guard,

* i. e. baggage: as in the 15th verse of the XXIst chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, where our translation has "we took up our carriages," for, ἀποσκευασάμενοι.

but we soon made our passage, & but w^th^ y^e^ loss of one Leivet. of horse, who was shot in y^e^ body & dy'd by y^e^ way, as he was carry'd: and but one false alaram, w^ch^ was given at Settle, y^t^ hindre'd our march & caus'd our horse to draw back above a mile; but w^n^ [it] came to be understood, it was but a row of Trees w^ch^ they took for y^e^ enemy.

We march'd in y^e^ night from Skipton after a little refressment, & came so suddenly upon a new rais'd Troop near Bradford, as we took some of y^m^ prisoners, & a Cap^t^. out of his bed: thus w^th^ a speedy march we gott to Pomfrett. Yet had *Coll. Sands intelligence (y^t^ lay about Pomfrett w^th^ 15 colours of horse) of our march, report'd to be y^e^ prince's horse, & a greater number y^n^ we were, & thereupon had sent to my L^d^. Fairfax at York; & his orders return'd to march away to York before we came. S^r^. John was resolv'd to fight w^th^ Sands, & therefore desires y^e^ governour of Pomfrett Castle S^r^. J^n^. Redman y^t^ lay sick in deep consumption at y^t^ time, to assist him w^th^ some foot out his Garison. S^r^. J^n^. Mainy had drawn up his horse w^th^in y^e^ park & having got y^e^ Garison soulgiers in readiness likewise, he causeth his horse to march thro' y^e^ Town w^th^out stop, & advanceth towards Ferry bridge.

The enemy was got in readiness likewise, & drawn

* "Colonel Sands for the Parliament besieged Pomfret Castle" [September, 1644.] Whitelock's Memorials, p. 101.

out on y^e^ other side of y^e^ bridge towards pomfret; S^r^. John sends a part to charge, & beats y^m^ off their ground by y^e^ help of y^e^ foot soulgiers. They retreat beyond y^e^ bridge, & would make good y^e^ bridge; but S^r^. John's men animat'd seing y^m^ forsake their ground, comes w^th^ more courage. The bridge had a Turnpike over y^e^ middle of it, w^ch^ they had fasten'd. Our men allights from their horses, takes out of a Smith's Shop a Hammer or such an Instrument, & breaks open y^e^ Turnpike. The enemy drew up again in Brotherton feilds, meaning to charge us in y^e^ narrow lane; we fight for ground to fight on, & they to keep [us] in y^t^ straight; & making good our ground we became at last masters of theirs, but fain to seek it thro'. Gapsteads & places of disadvantage. But having gotten y^e^ feild we at once both charg'd y^m^ & put y^m^ to flight, giving chase to y^m^ as far as Sherburn; We took above 50 prisoners: & amongst y^e^ rest S^r^. W^m^ Listers Son, who had march'd out of York w^th^ us, being Capt of y^e^ princes Army; & y^e^ next sight of him was w^n^ y^e^ Soulgiers were about to strip him.

S^r^. John was lost in y^e^ chase & could not be heard of till y^e^ next day we heard he lay wound'd at a Town 3 or 4 miles off, & going w^th^ a party to fetch him off, we met him coming in a Cart; for he had given out where he lay y^t^ he was of y^e^ Parliament side, & some Soulgiers of y^e^ garison of Pomphrett going out to see w^t^ boats they could take

upon y^e^ river, was told y^t^ an officer of y^e^ parliament's lay wound'd at y^e^ Town. They were glad of this prize, goes unto him, and would have pillag'd him. He desir'd y^m^ to take nothing from him in this place; but after they had carry'd him to pomphrett, all he had should be theirs. So they provide a cart for him, being not able to stir by a wound he had in his thigh, & brings him away w^th^ a great deel of Joy. But y^e^ soulgiers were amaz'd w^n^ we met y^m^; & w^n^ he was known, here was much joy y^t^ he was return'd; & as much strife and contention about a prize they had taken y^e^ day before, of 13 packs of Cloath going to York: They could not agree who should be y^e^ sharers w^th^ y^m^, whether only y^e^ officers of horse, or y^e^ Garison to be sharers too. Those y^t^ took it puts it up in a house, & setts a guard upon it, w^ch^ bred so much difference, as they were all ready to go together by y^e^ Eares. But y^e^ matter, was appeas'd, & every one to have a share, & those y^t^ took it a double share.

They were now considering how to dispose of y^m^-selves, & y^e^ Gentlemen were advis'd w^t^ was for their entertainment if they stay; but these see no hopes y^t^ any thing could be rais'd to continue, my L^d^ Fairfax being at York, & preparing to come against y^m^ (for his son y^n^ lay in cure of a dangerous shott he receiv'd at * Hemsly Castle); therefore they resolve

* "Sir Thomas Fairfax was before Hemsley Castle, where

to march to Newark; & after they were gone, comes S^r. W^m. Constable w^th y^e Yorkshire horse, & takes a circuit about y^e Town, & only one man y^t would charge in y^e Town was kill'd dead in y^e streets. There was not y^n in y^e streets 300 soulgiers to do duty: But at least 80 Officers & Gentlemen y^t came for shelter. These & their servants made a fair Troop, & was offerd me to command, but in y^e end they could not all agree, some being for one & some for another. After S^r. John was able to stir abroad, (for it was 8 weeks before he left his bed) we resolve to leave y^t Garison & go to Newark; & by close marching in y^e night got thither undisturbed.

His Regiment of horse he had sent w^th y^e rest of y^e horse to Newark, & at his coming he found most of y^m unhors'd by lying in Quarters abroad, taken & beaten up by y^e enemy. Therefore he desir'd y^e Commissioners of Newark to repair y^e loss he had, & to furnish him again w^th horse; w^ch they consent'd unto, & allott'd upon severall towns a proportion of horse, & y^e Countrymen to be allow'd for it in their sesments: his Quater to be at Kelham. W^n these things were in some sort settled, after a forthnith's stay at Newark, we begin our march to Oxford; & because our march lay thro' y^e enemys Quaters, we

he was shot into his shoulder, and well again." [September, 1644] Whitelock's Memorials, p. 101.

provide us a guide, & took y^e^ night time to march in; our intention being known & quality, by putting y^e^ Country to y^t^ charge, gave y^e^ enemy intelligence, & means to way lay us; we 41 in a company, of all sorts y^t^ set forth together, & a Gentleman, one M^r^. Packgrave, y^t^ would be our guide to a house of my *Lady Goldings, where he procur'd us another guide y^t^ would bring us to †S^r^. Francis Inglefeilds house: w^n^ we came near y^e^ house M^r^. Packgrave desir'd to go a little before us, least their might be some of y^e^ enemys horse Quater'd there, & we to stay in a close till he return'd. He tarrys longer y^n^ we expect'd, so y^t^ we began to doubt, whether he might not be taken.

How to know this, was y^e^ difficulty; we had a guide y^t^ could go to y^e^ house, but we thought it not discretion to send him, least he might leave us too; at last it was agreed he should go, but y^r^ I should go along w^th^ him; y^e^ night was dark, so y^t^ y^e^ guide was out of his ayme, & knew not which way to go. We at last, hapn'd upon a house where we rais'd up y^e^ man to guide us, & he brings us thither; I found M^r^. Packgrave there, who had not sent one to S^r^. John to bring him to y^e^ house; w^th^ much ado we meet again, & by a guide from y^e^ house, we marcth

* Probably the wife of the Baronet of that name of Colston-Bassett co. Notts.

† Son of the Lady Englefield, two of whose letters may be seen in the Correspondence.

towards Dantry. As soon as it grew light we were discover'd by some horse from Leister.

They to give notice of our march ride away to Leister & to Northampton; we hold on our march, but not wth y^{t} order as ought to have been in a country where y^{e} enemy lay round about us; for we had in our Company soulgiers so unruly, y^{t} gave y^{e} whole country an alaram against us: they would ride out on every hand, take y^{e} enemys horses out of their Teams, rob y^{e} carryers, & play such pranks as we could expect no less y^{n} to be mett wth by y^{e} enemy: & so it fell out, & we had notice of a Troop of horse gone before us; for w^{n} we came wthin 3 miles of Dantry, a Countryman told us y^{t} a Troop of horse was newly march'd before us, to Dantry: we adviseth for y^{e} best, & yet S^{r}. J^{n} Mainy & my L^{d} S^{t}. Paul would by no means we should decline y^{m}, but march directly by y^{e} Town. W^{n} we were gone a little beyond y^{e} Town, upon an ascending Hill, by a Wood side, we espi'd their Scouts coming forth.

Upon y^{e} top of y^{e} Hill, under y^{e} wood side, we made a stand, & sends before our weari'd & baggage horse. As soon as they came up towards us we charge y^{m}, & as fast down again they run. Here we stay not, but after our baggage horse we go, & thus making many haults, gave y^{e} enemy time to bring up their whole Troop, & left us no hope but in making y^{e} best shift we could to escape. Some of our Company had forsaken their horses & betaken y^{m} selves to y^{e}

wood, others follow on as long as they could, & still as they dropt off was taken by y^e^ enemy.* My man Tho. Adamson was once taken, but yet escap'd. Tho' I lost all I had †, yet had my loss not been so great if S^r^. J^n^. Mainy had not been taken, altho' afterwards lying sore wound'd at Dantry, my L^d^ Northampton w^th^ a party of horse fetch'd him off. We were 15 y^t^ got to Brambury [Banbury] & there were 15 taken prisoners; y^e^ rest kill'd, or got away by y^e^ darkness of y^e^ night. The horse I rid on tyr'd also,

* "Captain Redman with a party from Northampton set upon a party of the King's forces going to Banbury: took prisoners the L. St. Paul a Frenchman, Sir John Fenwicke, two of the Stricklands, fifteen others, thirty Horse and Arms and a Sumpter with rich Cloths." Whitelock, p. 121.

† A very interesting memorial of this march is still in existence: it is a silver medal of an oval shape, made to be worn; on it is a half length of Sir Henry in his military dress, but unhelmeted and with long flowing hair; and round three sides this Legend: EX . RESIDVIS · NVMMI · SVB · HASTA · PIMMIANA · LEGE · PRÆDATI IVXTA · DAVENTRIAM · AN · EARNEST · PENNY · FOR · MY · CHILDREN · THO : H : B : SLINGSBY · OXON · 1644. On the back, which is quite smooth, is lightly engraved Scriven and Slingsby impaling Belasyse, and the Crest, a Lion passant: and it is remarkable that the Baron coat is dimidiated, so that Scriven appears once at top and Slingsby once below, barwise. Below the coat is engraved, "Beheaded June y^e^. 8: by O: C: 1657." which should be 1658. The Coat and Inscription on the back may be presumed from the style of engraving to have been added about the close of the 17th. Century.

& had it not been for my L^d^ S^t^. Paul, y^t^ took me behind him, I had likewise been left behind. This day prov'd a day of much observation to me, for this same day of y^e^ month my father part'd w^th^ this life & all he had, I also part'd w^th^ all I had, & in some hazard of my life too, w^ch^ I shall remember, being upon y^e^ 17 of December 1644; but coming safe to Bambury all my care was for S^r^. J^n^. Mainy, & therefore I mov'd my L^d^ Northampton to send a party of horse to Dantry to fetch him off, & untill S^r^. J^n^. came & was settled at Bambury for his better cure, I tarry'd w^th^ my L^d^ of Northampton.*

Here I left S^r^. J^n^. Mainy & went to Oxford, & had my Quaters. w^th^ S^r^. W^m^. Parkhurst, y^e^ mint master, by S^r^. John's means: about a week after comes S^r^. John, as he was able for his wounds, having his mouth cut up to his ear, & 3 other wounds in his head & neck. I liv'd here w^th^ great ease & much content, thro' S^r^. W^m^. Parkhurst his noble entertainment: & all y^e^ time no action or design of warr, but once, w^n^ y^e^ prince took out y^e^ forces y^t^ were in Oxford, & w^th^ him y^e^ Governour w^ch^ at y^t^ time was

* "The Earl of Northampton with 3000 Horse much infested part of Bucks and Oxfordshire & order was taken for money to pay the Forces of those Counties to resist him." [December 1644.] Whitelock's Memorials, p. 118.

The Earl of Northampton fell at Hopton Heath fight, refusing quarter, saying "that he scorn'd to take Quarter from such base Knaves and Rebels as they were."

S^r^. Henry Gage, to attempt some w^t^ upon Abington, & to have broken down y^e^ bridge of y^e^ river of y^e^ town; but they fail'd in their design, & was put to a retreat, w^th^ y^e^ loss of * S^r^. H. Gage, whom they brought back dead into y^e^ town. He was y^e^ fourth governour of Oxford after it was made a Garison, a man much lament'd, being a compleat Soulgier & a wise man; He succeed'd S^r^. Arthur Ashton, who by a fall from his horse, riding out of Oxford to take y^e^ air, broke his leg, & was forc'd afterwards to cutt it off. W^n^ he was able to go abroad & walk about w^th^ his wooden leg, I chance to meet him at General Ruthens, & by his talk I could perceive his desire was to be governour again, saying y^t^ he now was able to do cervice, w^th^ one legg, as ever he had been; but he could not prevail; for after S^r^. Henry Gage, one † M^r^. Legg was made Governour.

It concern'd y^e^ King to chuse one of trust & care; being for y^e^ Security of his person; yet would he not transmit all y^e^ care to y^e^ governour, but would himself once or twice a week take horse, & go about y^e^ town, to view both w^th^in & w^th^out y^e^ works, & be among his ordinance where they stood upon their carryages: he kept his hours most exactly, both for his exercises & for his dispatches, as also his

* His Son was created a Baronet July 15, 1662 in reward of this service.

† Grandfather to the first Earl of Dartmouth.

hours for admitting all sorts to come to speak w^th^ him. You might know where he would be at any hour from his rising, w^ch^ was very early, to his walk he took in y^e^ Garden, & so to Chapple & dinner; so after dinner, if he went not abroad, he had his houres for wrighting or discourcing, or chess playing, or Tennis.

While I was in Oxford I went duly to a committ of parliament men *, y^t^ sat in y^e^ scools, about 30 in number, not upon any publick business, but for y^e^ regulating of y^e^ army, or advance of mony; altho' y^e^ year before they sat as a parliament, thinking to over ballance y^e^ power of y^e^ parliament at Westminster w^th^ their votes.

The latter end of this year was y^t^ great treaty at Uxbridge †; great in expectation, tho' in conclusion it brought forth nothing y^t^ gave any hopes of peace, but rather gave either side warning to prepare y^e^ sooner for battle: y^e^ Parliament stick immoviable to their Votes & resolutions, tho' y^e^ King swerv'd [in] his resolution in yeilding some w^t^ to y^t^ he had formerly stood upon, upon debate of those maine heads, of ‡Episcopacy, Militia, & Ireland. After this treaty

* Sir Henry, it will be recollected, was at this time Member for Knaresborough.

† It began, January 30, and ended February 22, 1644-5.

‡ The modifications proposed by the King's Commissioners may be seen at pp. 872-3, Part 3. Vol. ii. of Rushworth, being the subject of No. 56. in the treaty of Uxbridge as detailed by

was broken up w^th^out effect, nothing was expect'd now but new warr for a new summer, & a new modell of y^e^ army for their new made General S^r^. Tho. Fairfax. Hereupon there comes to Oxford Generall Goring & my L^d^ Hopton, to give an account to y^e^ King of his affairs in y^e^ west, & y^e^ King to advise w^th^ y^m^ concerning his resolution of sending y^e^ prince of Wales into y^e^ West. Here comes likewise S^r^. Marmaduke Langdale, w^th^ his northern horse consisting of 1600; w^th^ these he undertakes to releive Pomphret; but his more useful cervice was, after this, to joyne w^th^ prince Morrice & my L^d^ Ashley, w^ch^ after y^e^ taking Shrewsbury* were in some streights; & so having accordingly in his march downwards beaten Northamptons† & Rosciters‡ horse at Melton

him.' 'Their moderation is such as to have more than satisfied any party but one bent on Ecclesiastical and Civil Anarchy. The final reply of the King's Commissioners on the subject of Religion [No. 72] deserves a very attentive perusal.

* Shrewsbury was taken for the Parliament by Colonel Mitton in February 1644-5.

† i. e. the Northamptonshire.

‡ "Sir Marmaduke Langdale's Party were met with by Colonel Rosseter near Melton, where they had a sharp encounter and Loss on both sides." [March 1644-5] Whitelock's Memorials, p. 135: and a little before, p. 134 [February, 1644-5,] "A party under Sir Marmaduke Langdale, marching northwards, fell upon a party of the Parliament's in Northamptonshire, whom they routed, killed some, and took divers of them Prisoners, and the rest shifted for their Lives, and by flight

Moubry, & all y^e^ York forces horse and foot, command'd by my L^d^ Fairfax*; he after this releives pomphrett & marcheth to y^e^ prince, not venturing to tarry longer least a worse storm had gather'd about him. This gave some encouragement to y^e^ King y^t^ was now making all y^e^ speed he could to take y^e^ feild†, before y^e^ parliament forces could be ready.

On y^e^ back side of Maudlin Colledg, in a close where his artilliry stood, he makes choice of w^t^ Guns should march out w^th^ him, & out of y^m^ chuseth 14 of bigger & less size: He caus'd 14 boats to be made for transporting his artilliry over any river, & one day makes tryall upon y^e^ river by Oxford how these boats would carry these Guns, causing two of y^e^ biggest to be drawn over by y^m^.

[1645.]

And now having all things in readiness, the prince of Wales being gone to Bristol & Generall Ruthen

saved themselves. The same Party of the King's fell upon some Dragoons of the Parliament's in Leicestershire, and routed them."

* March 8, 1644-5. by which action he relieved Pomfret.

† "The King had now Goring with a considerable Party in the west, Prince Maurice in Cheshire, Langdale in Yorkshire, Prince Rupert and Sir Jacob Ashley gone towards Shropshire, and the Parliament yet no formed Army." [March 6, 1644-5.] Whitelock's Memorials, p. 135.

attending him, & my *L^d^ Capell & L^d^ Collpepper, w^th^ others whom y^e^ King had appoint'd for his train, He gives orders for his march out of Oxford, upon y^e^ 7. of May 1645, w^th^ only his lifeguard of Horse and his lifeguard of foot command'd by my †L^d^ of Linsey, as y^t^ of horse, was command'd by my ‡L^d^ of Litchfeild; he march'd y^e^ first night to Woodstock, here he had my L^d^. Gorings horse to meet him, to keep a pass & prevent Cromwells horse from troubling our rear: & accordingly they did attempt, buf were beaten & put to retreat. Y^e^ next day my L^d^ of Northampton presents his Regiment to y^e^ King; & so march we to Bradford Downs, where we had a randevous of our whole army, upon y^e^ two princes coming & S^r^. Marmaduke Langdale w^th^ his northern horse. Our army consist'd of about 3000 foot & 4000 horse, taking supplies from severall garisons as we march'd by, from hence we go to take our Quarters; the King to Evesham, w^ch^ at y^t^ time was a garison held for y^e^ King; y^e^ rest of y^e^ horse & foot Quarter'd in towns thereabouts; but before we part'd at y^e^ randevous, y^e^ prince had given command to Coll. Bard governour of Cambden to march along w^th^

* Beheaded March 9, 1649-50.

† Son of the Earl of Lindsay who fell at Edgehill and ancestor of the Dukes of Ancaster.

‡ Lord Bernard Stuart, created in the end of this year Earl of Litchfield.

his Regiment; & least y^e^ enemy should make use of y^t^ house for a garison, w^n^ we had left it, being so near Evesham, y^e^ prince likewise command'd it to be burnt; w^ch^ I set on a light fire before we march'd off. A house as my L^d^ Cambden says y^t^ had 30,000*l.* in building & furniture *.

In our march coming by Hauckly [Hawksly] house in Worcestershire, a Garison held for y^e^ parliament, The King sends to give it a summons & upon refusal commands y^e^ army to sit down before it, & presently they fall to work, & in a short time they carry their Line close by y^e^ Moat Side (for it was moat'd about) & by trenches draws away y^e^ Water; w^ch^ y^e^ beseig'd perceiving after we had made a shot or two, they call for a parley; & at last were fain to yeild y^e^ house, their arms, & y^m^selves prisoners, w^th^ out any loss great either of men, or time†; only a Gentleman of prince Ruperts, standing by y^e^ prince

* The blame of destroying Cambden house seems by this account to fall on Prince Rupert; Clarendon says, "when Goring was thus separated from the King's army, his Majesty marched to Evesham; and in his way, drew out his Garrison from Cambden-House; which had brought no other benefit to the Publick, than the enriching the licentious Governour thereof who . . . took his leave of it in wantonly burning the Noble Structure, where he had too long inhabited, and which, not many years before, had cost above thirty thousand pounds the building."

† Clarendon says two days.

in y^e^ Trench receiv'd a shott in y^e^ shoulder. After y^e^ governour & soulgiers were made prisoners, our soulgiers were let in to plunder, & having taken out w^t^ they would, they set fire on y^e^ rest. From hence we march'd Northwards till we came to Burton on y^e^ Trent, a town y^t^ formerly had been kept a Garison for y^e^ parliament. But y^e^ Queen in her march Southward, w^th^ those forces she had gotten in y^e^ North & one Regiment of y^e^ Yorkshire Trainbands command'd by Coll. Darcy, took it by storm, w^th^ no great difficulty.

Here we quarter'd & being once come into y^e^ Northside of Trent, our Northern horse chiefly were made glad w^th^ hope y^t^ we should still have march'd Northward, yet they were not much inquisitive, & hitherto shew'd a mind indifferent w^t^ way they went so they follow'd their General; & such an army had Cæsar, of whom they write, y^t^ he would be so severe & precise in exacting discipline, as he would not give y^m^ warning of y^e^ time either of Journey or of battle, but kept y^m^ ready, intentive, & prest to be led forth upon a sudden every minute of an hour whither soever he would. Exactor gravissimus disciplinæ, ut neque itineris neque prœlii tempus denunciaret, sed paratum et intentum omnibus momentis, quo vellet subito educeret. & as Julius Cæsar was severe in requiring an exact observance of strict discipline, so he would teach y^m^ to endure hardships, by his own example, lighting from his horse & leading y^m^ on foot many

times wth his head bare, whether y^{e} sun did shine, or y^{e} clouds did pour down rain: & in this y^{e} King did show y^{e} like, for no weather how foul soever did ever fource him to take his coach, but would show y^{e} like patience in enduring as any of y^{e} rest.

At this Town of Burton we were at a stand, on whether side of Trent we should march, & y^{n} command was given to march to Askby delazouch, & coming thither, orders were sent to S^{r}. Marmaduke Langdale to go wth y^{e} Northorn horse of w^{ch} he had y^{e} command, consisting of 1400 horse or thereabout, to ly between Coventry & Leister, to hinder provisions, or any of y^{e} Country people, for coming into Leister.

We march'd immediately away, till we came wth in 4 miles of Leister, & had drawn our horse into a Fair Meadow where we fed y^{m}. Our Scouts gives us notice of some horse y^{t} were within half a Mile of us where we lay, & Greyhounds wth y^{m} a coursing; S^{r}. Marmaduke sends some horse towards y^{m}, & as they advanc'd we perceiv'd more horse coming from beyond y^{e} Hill, & still as we drew out more horse towards y^{m}, so did they, till they at last appear before us, in 3 bodys: We advance to charge y^{m}, & still as we advance they orderly draw off in y^{e} rear, keeping still one body facing us; thus, sometimes retreating, & sometimes making a stand, we fourc'd y^{m} under y^{e} works [of] Leister, & our horse takes y^{e} Hill, w^{ch} lyeth above y^{e} town; from hence we sent

to y^e^ King to give him notice where we were, & where we lay y^t^ night.

The next night the King comes w^th^ y^e^ rest of y^e^ army & begirts y^e^ town. The place of battery was upon y^t^ part of y^e^ town w^ch^ they call Newark, where he had mount'd 6 peices of Ordinance for battery, & in one afternoone had made a breach in y^t^ part of y^e^ Wall; for this was of stone, y^e^ rest of y^e^ Works were Ramparts of earth; nothing more was done y^t^ day, for y^e^ night was resolv'd upon to begin y^e^ storm, only we did play y^m^ w^th^ shott to hinder y^m^ from making up y^e^ breach; yet for all this they had made a traverse & flanck'd it to defend y^t^ part.

The warning to be giv'n to fall on on every side was, upon y^e^ shooting of six guns, & y^e^ time to be about 12 o'Clock; every one had their places set, how one should second another, both horse & foot, & S^r^. Marmaduke had y^e^ reserve; & there also was y^e^ King y^e^ 2 princes & my L^d^ Ashley, w^th^ Coll. Lile who had y^e^ charge to storm y^e^ breech, & some men dismount'd w^th^ Sword & pistol did second him; he entr'd y^e^ breach 3 several times, but yet was repuls'd leaving many dead bodys, both w^th^in & upon it; where amongst y^e^ rest lay Coll. St. George. Y^n^ at y^e^ lower end of y^e^ town, where Coll. Bard & Coll. Page had their post, this attempt was carry'd w^th^ better success as it prov'd, some w^th^ Ladders gets over their works, others break y^e^ chain & letts down y^e^ Drawbridge & fells down y^e^ works in 2 or 3 several

places y^t^ our horse may enter, so y^t^ by y^e^ time it was light, y^e^ town was ours* & y^e^ King [was] carry'd on y^e^ outside of y^e^ town by their works to a house of ————to Quarter; as he went along by y^e^ works, y^e^ Committe, who were taken prisoners, puts up their heads & put off their hats, shewing some obeysance; & y^e^ soulgiers would call unto y^e^ King to shew him where such & such an officer lay dead upon y^e^ ground, giving some testymony of his worth & gallantry.

The King stay'd here on Sunday†, & had divine service & a Sermon preach'd before him, in y^e^ Mayors Church: but y^e^ Mayor of y^e^ town had a foul disaster happen'd him; for w^n^ he should have given his attendance upon y^e^ King to y^e^ Church, his mace was plunder'd from him. While his Majesty stay'd here, my ‡L^d^ of Loubrough sends out his warrants to call in y^e^ country to assist y^e^ King w^th^ their Arms, & in a short time I saw an appearance of near a 1000 men, & all taken out of one division. Here came also y^e^ news to y^e^ King of taking Evesham & y^t^ S^r^. Tho. Fairfax had beseig'd Oxford, & likewise some intimation from thence, y^t^ y^e^ town was not so

* This account tends very much to discredit Whitelock's assertion that "those within made stout resistance, but some of them betrayed one of the gates."

† Leicester was taken on the night between Friday May 30 and Saturday 31; a full account of the capture may be read, p. 35. part 4. vol. i. of Rushworth.

‡ So created by the King, being second son of the Earl of Huntingdon.

well provid'd for a seige; w^ch^ stopt y^e^ King in his march & turn'd his thoughts how to releive it. It was no little trouble to our Northern men to think upon marching up Southward again, & began to hang backward, & discover their discontent. At y^e^ next Randevous y^e^ King talk'd w^th^ y^m^, but still they shew'd an unwillengness. S^r^. Marmaduke was sent to use his power & perswasions among y^m^ but yet nothing would move y^m^. They doubt'd not in some of their opinions, but y^t^ they should be able to march to y^e^ warr of Mount-Ross, or they would keep together in y^e^ North & make y^e^ Country pay y^m^ contributions; thus were they wavering & parts y^t^ night, not knowing w^t^ resolution they would take, but y^e^ next morning we meet again & so marcheth to Dantry.*

S^r^. Tho. Fairfax had left y^e^ seige at Oxford, & was come w^th^ his army about StonyStafford [Stony Stratford]: y^e^ King at Dantry had sent a Convoy to Oxford, & stays their return.

In this Interim S^r^. Tho Fairfax was come about w^th^ his army to Northampton, & some of his horse in our Quarters, before we were aware of y^m^. This made y^e^ King draw his whole army together & take y^e^ Hills y^t^ were about Dantry, y^t^ w^ch^ is call'd y^e^ Daws

* "Langdale's Regiment were in discontent near Leicester because they might not advance northwards; but the King quieted them with a Promise, that they should march thither within 15 Days." Whitelock's Memorials, [June 1645.] p. 149.

[Danes] Hills: where yet one may see y^e^ intrenchments of an army, & so high as it overlooks a good part of y^e^ Country between it & Northampton; & there upon y^t^ Hill y^e^ whole army of horse & foot stood in arms y^t^ same night. The next Morning. [we] were comand'd to march back again to Harborrow, & in our march we understood y^t^ General Fairfax follow'd w^th^ his army upon y^e^ side of us 6 miles distant. W^n^ we took our Quarters, we made y^e^ head Quarters at Harborrow; our horse lay Quarter'd in Villages between us & y^e^ enemy, who gave y^m^ an Alaram, but presently were encountr'd w^th^ a party of our horse, & chas'd untill they came to see where they had made their fire, in an open feild. Upon y^e^ charge Liet. Coll. Sair, receiving a Shott near y^e^ shouldier, was brought off to Harborrow, to S^r^. Marmaduke Langdales Quarter.

This alarm'd y^e^ King who lay at a place a little beyond Harborrow; thereupon command was given to draw fourth; w^ch^ was y^e^ 14^th^ of June 1645, upon a Saturday; & by y^e^ time it was light y^e^ King himself was come into y^e^ Town, & all in readiness to march: we had not march'd a Mile out of Town, having taken a Hill whereon a Chappell stood, but we could diserne y^e^ enemy's horse upon another Hill about a Mile or two before us, w^ch^ was y^e^ same on w^ch^ Naseby stood: here we made a Hault, but after prayers being said, prince Ruport draws forth a good body of horse, & advanceth towards y^e^ enemy, where

he sees their horse marching up on y^e^ side of y^e^ Hill to y^t^ place where after they imbattl'd their whole army: but being hindred of any nearer approach, by reason y^e^ place between us & y^m^, was full of burts & Water, we wheel'd about, & by our guides were brought upon a fair peice of ground, partly corn & partly heath, under Nasby, about Half a mile distant from y^e^ place.

The prince having taken his ground began to put in order [his] horse in sight of y^e^ enemy, who were now come to y^e^ top of y^e^ Hill, & begin to draw down their Regiments upon y^e^ side of y^e^ hill: where they took their ground to imbattle their forces: immediately he sends to y^e^ King, to hasten away y^e^ foot, & Cannon, w^ch^, were not yet come off y^e^ Hill where they first made y^e^ randevous; & he perceiv'd y^t^ General Fairfax intend'd not to quitt y^e^ advantage of y^e^ Hill, where he had drawn up his men: so advantageous was it, y^t^ they could easily observe in w^t^ body we drew np our men, & y^e^ utmost y^t^ we were, w^n^ as they lay w^th^out our sight, having y^e^ Hill to cover y^m^, & appear'd no more to us y^n^ w^t^ they had drawn out in Battalio upon y^e^ side of Nasby Hill; besides, they had possess'd an Hedge upon our right wing w^ch^ they had lin'd w^th^ Musqueteers to Gall our horse, (as indeed they did) before we could come up to charge theirs. It fell upon prince Ruport to charge at y^t^ disadvantage, & many of y^e^ Regiment [were] wound'd by shot from y^e^ hedge, before

we could joyne w^th^ theirs on y^t^ wing: but [he] so behav'd himself in y^e^ charge, y^t^ he beat y^m^ up upon y^t^ wing beyond y^e^ Hills, & had our success been y^e^ like upon our left wing, in probability we might have had y^e^ day.

But our Northern horse who stood upon y^t^ wing, & y^e^ Newark horse who was appoint'd their receive [relief] being out front'd & overpour'd by their assailants, after they were close joyn'd, they stood a pritty while, & neither seem'd to yeild, till more came up to their flanks & put y^m^ to rout, & wheeling to our right took y^m^ in disorder, & so presently made our whole horse run: & our foot thus left nak'd were foure'd to lay down their arms*. Y^e^ enemy did not pursue, w^ch^ gave time to us to stop, & really our men, & y^e^ prince on y^e^ one hand, & S^r^. Marmaduke Langdale on y^e^ other, (y^e^ King yet being upon y^e^ place) having got together as many as they could, made an offer of a 2 charge, but could not abide it; they being horse & foot in good order, & we but a few horse only, & those mightily discourag'd; y^t^ so we were immediately made to run, & y^e^ enemy in pursuit of us gain'd bag & baggage all we had, w^ch^ they found to be a very rich pillage: & tho' our Waggons were

* "This battle was won and lost as that of Marston-Moor, but proved more destructive to the King and his Party. It was fought in a large fallow field, on the North-west side of Naseby, about a mile broad, which space of ground was wholly taken up." Whitelock's Memorials, p. 151.

left at a good distance yet could they not be carry'd off, but some were taken, & some overthrown. & monys shaken out, w^ch^ made our soulgiers to venture their lives once more, w^ch^ was but to stay & take it up.

The way I took was upon my right hand, leaving Harborrow on my left, only Leif. Coll. Atkinson & 3 more following me, w^n^ all ours besides took Harborrow on y^e^ right & were come to Leister long before we got thither. Y^e^ King made no stay at Leister but march'd presently to Ashbe Delazouch; at Leister I met w^th^ my L^d^ Bellasyse, & in y^e^ night we went together w^th^ my * L^d^ Beamond, & y^e^ next day, being Sunday, we came to y^e^ King at Ashby, a Garison well stor'd w^th^ good victuals & a good Cellar. In y^e^ afternoon y^e^ King march'd w^th^ all his remain'd horse to Litchfeild, where he was receiv'd by y^e^ Mayor, Aldarmen, & S^r^. Richard Dyett their recorder, who being all upon their knees made a speech unto y^e^ King, as he pass'd y^e^ street on horseback. This town was never fortify'd, but only y^e^ close y^t^ contains y^e^ Cathedral & prebends houses. †A place of good strength yet hath it been both lost, &

* Viscount Beaumont in the Peerage of Ireland.

† Lichfield was taken from the Earl of Chesterfield, who held it for the King, by Lord Brooke's forces; Lord Brooke himself being shot before the close surrendered. Prince Rupert afterwards retook it. These changes took place in March 1642-3, or April 1643.

wone; & no less gallantly defend'd by y^e^ parliamenteers; y^n^ assault'd by prince Ruport, who made it be render'd to him, tho' he was beaten off at y^e^ storming; in memory of w^ch^ action, they had set up in a Table of wood, & written in Latin, y^e^ discription of y^t^ assault & those noble persons y^t^ were ingag'd therein. But I beleive w^n^ y^e^ Garison was after yeild'd to, y^m^ they of y^e^ Contrary side would not suffer y^t^ to hang up as a memorial. From this place y^e^ King took his march to Bewdley, & so to Hereford, where he made some little stay, having sent S^r^. Marmaduke Langdale w^th^ y^e^ Northern horse to Quarter about Lempster; & prince Ruport, & prince Morrice to Bristoll.

This City of Hereford is cituate'd not much unlike to Yorke, & in some parts resembles it very much; for it hath a round tower mount'd upon a Hill, like to Cliffords tower, & y^e^ mills near it, w^th^ some little works about, having y^e^ river Wye running close by; but y^e^ Walls tho' they be high yet are not mount'd upon a Rampeir as York walls are. The King marcheth from hence to Ragland a Castle of * y^e^ Earle of Worsters, a strong Castle of it self, & beautifull to behold, yet made stronger much by art, being pallizado'd & fortify'd by a double work; here

* The brave Marquis of Worcester, grandfather of the first Duke of Beaufort. His Castle of Ragland was one of the last that held out against the Rebels, by whom it was taken, August, 1646, and dismantled.

y^e King continued 3 Weeks, being entertain'd by y^e Earle, not w^th standing y^e great charge by keeping therein a Garison for y^m. There was also w^th y^e King these noblemen nobly entertain'd; namely my L^d Duke, my L^d of Linsey, my L^d of Shrewsbury, my L^d of Litchfeild, my L^d Digby, & my L^d Cornwath, who pass'd their time much in bowling; & y^e King for all this omitt'd not his accustom'd hours for prayers, according to y^e form of y^e Church of England, & in y^t house, †where never before any form was us'd: & on ‡Tuesday he would have

* I. e. of Richmond, uncle to the Earl of Litchfield. He was one of the King's most faithful servants; and in company with the Marquis of Hertford, the Earl of Southampton, and the Earl of Lindsay, saw performed the last offices for his Majesty's body in St. George's chapel Windsor, as far as the fanaticism of his murderers would permit.

† That is, never according to the Ritual of the Church of England, the Marquis of Worcester being a Papist, as his descendants continued to be till his great-grandson;

‡ Charles Lord Herbert, eldest son of Henry Marquis of Worcester, was matriculated as a Member of Ch. Ch. Ætat. 16. natus Lond. I set this down here because the Father and Ancestors were all Catholicks, but because the mother is a Presbyterian, a Capel, she (against the Father's will as t'is said) will have him bred up a Protestant, so that by this change the Catholicks will lose the considerablest family in England, and the richest subject that the King hath." Anth. a Wood's Diary [Dec. 26, 1677.] pp. 270-1.

‡ Sir Anthony Weldon in his "Court and character of king James" says "Yet there was a weekly commemoration [of the

his sermon, (as usually he had at Whitehall) in y^e^ parish Church a Quarter of a mile off, brought thither in his coach.

While he stay'd in these parts he visit'd all Garisons; but first he went to Abergeiny, w^ch^ was not a Garison, but a place where he conven'd y^e^ Country Gentlemen to be assured of their affection, & w^t^ assistance they would give him. After this he went to Monmouth where Coll. Lunsford was governour;

Gowry Conspiracy] by the Tuesday Sermon, and an anniversary feast, as great as it was possible, for the King's [James I.] preservation, ever on the fifth of August . . . And I pray God, that the effects of those sermons in the fathers time, for that service, cause no ill effects, or be not one cause of God's anger towards us in the Sons reigne." And in the publisher's preface to the first edition of Sir A. W's pamphlet [1651] it is said, "Amongst the many remarkable passages in this short relation, the reader may take notice chiefly of five things here discovered: First, how Almighty God was mockt, and the world abused, by the Tuesday Sermons at Court, and the anniversary festivals upon the fifth of August, in commemoration of King James' deliverance from the Gourie's conspiracy; whereas, indeed there was no such matter, but a mere feigned thing, as appears by the Story." Four other propositions follow; the fourth insinuating the death of Prince Henry not to have taken place in the course of nature. Sir Walter Scott, in his reprint of this pamplet in his "Secret History of the Court of James the First" remarks, "of these five propositions the first and fourth are false." &c. It may be remarked that the fifth of August in 1584, the year of the Gowry conspiracy, fell on a Wednesday.

& to Cardiff where Coll. Tirrell was governour, where also was y^e^ * Bishop of Armagh, w^th^ his daughter y^e^ governours wife. About 3 Miles from this town y^e^ King went to view a muster w^ch^ y^e^ Gentlemen had caused, to testify their forwardness to advance y^e^ cervise of y^e^ King, w^ch^ could be no less upon y^e^ view y^e^ 3000 foot, w^th^ such guns and other weapons as they had, making a shew by their acclamation of much rejoycing to see their King; but all this prov'd vain & fruitless, & no advantage came thereby to y^e^ King; whereupon he resolv'd to leave y^t^ Country & march Norwards w^th^ all y^e^ fource he had, w^ch^ consist'd of those Brigades, as we may name y^m^, in y^t^ command'd by Coll. Gerrard lately come up to y^e^ King w^ch^ had been employ'd in Wales, one of S^r^. W^m^ Vaughan, & another of all our Northern horse command'd by S^r^. Marmaduke Langdale, w^ch^ [three] consisted of 3000 horse.

Y^e^ King after he return'd from visiting many places thereabout, came back to Raglang, & so march'd to Brecknock, where Coll. Herbert Price was governour. Now y^e^ King intends to try his fortune in y^e^ North, in hopes he may come to joyn w^th^ y^e^ marquis of Montross, who prevail'd exceedingly in Scotland; & therefore by many days march, passing by y^e^ Bridge North, vulver [Wolver] Hampton, Litchfeild, Sitbury [Tutbury], Chatesworth, we came

* Usher.

at last to *Welbeck my L^d of Newcastle his house, w^ch y^e was a garison held for y^e King. Here came to y^e King, y^e Gentlemen y^t were at Newwark, & y^e Govemour w^th all y^e Newark horse. The Gentlemen were advis'd w^th how he might be able to raise any new forces in Yorkshire, & in w^t part of y^e Country y^t might y^e most securely be done; & part of y^e horse of Newark was to be a Convey w^th some ammunition to Doncaster, whether y^e king intend'd to march; †but this his purpose was soon frustrat'd, by intelligence y^t Poynze Leift. General in Yorkshire was drawing together all his fources he could, to hinder y^e Kings farther march; & likewise y^e Scots having beseig'd Hereford had sent down most of their horse w^th Davie Leslie to follow after y^e King; so y^t being in those streights, tho' we had sent out warrants at Doncaster to array the Country, yet we thought it not safe to abide y^e approach of these two Generals, Leslie, & Poynze; therefore, upon orders to retreat, we march back to Newark, & so to ‡Bever [Belvoir] thro' §y^e associat'd Country's to Stamford, where we

* August 15.

† i. e. of raising forces in Yorkshire; not that he did not go to Doncaster. Clarendon relates that he was there three days before the alarm of Lesly's march to Rotheram, ten miles off, took place.

‡ "His Majesty . . . having lain one night at Belvoir castle made his next Head-Quaters at Stamford." Rushworth, p. 116. part iv. vol. 1.

§ The counties in this Association were Leicester, Derby,

understood y^t 6 new rais'd troops of y^e parliament command'd by a Scotch Major lay, w^th in 2 miles of us; & as y^e Major, being after taken prisoner, said, y^t if he could have had any confidence in his men, but y^t they were new rais'd, he could easily have beaten up our Quarters, & taken y^e King.

For it was y^e next day eer we had notice of y^m; therefore a party of our horse was sent, command'd by S^r. Marmaduke Langdale, to follow y^m close & ingage y^m to fight, w^ch he did, & by light skirmages came so close to them y^t at last he put y^m to flight; & near to Huntingdon took y^e major prisoner. W^n we came near y^e town we thought we should have had some resistance, for it was made a kind of Garison, w^th some traversers & light works about it, but comeing near they soon desert'd it, & both those horse we pursu'd, & those in it, fled to Cambridge; *here y^e soulgier got some plunder, & among other things a long scrole of y^e names of such as had taken y^e covenant, w^th some letters, one whereof was given to y^e King to read, w^ch I saw, attaining a great dislike the men had to see how much y^e people were adict'd to adolize y^e King, w^th many Quotations & texts

Nottingham, Rutland, Northampton, Buckingham, Bedford, and Huntingdon.

* "In this sudden and unexpected march, his Majesty's Horse got great Booty out of those Countries adhering to the Parliament through which they passed, especially at Huntington." Rushworth, p. 116. part iv. vol. i.

out of Scripture. We tarry'd here one day, and at y^e^ same time y^e^ King caus'd Coll. Cromwell, a kinsman of y^e^ other, whom they made sheriff, to send out his warrants to summon y^e^ Country to give their assistance: & accordingly there appear'd of y^e^ Countrymen, in a body drawn together, to y^e^ number of 400 to present y^m^ selves to y^e^ King as he pass'd by Godmanchester; whom y^e^ King sent unto to give y^m^ thanks, & w^th^ all to tell y^m^ y^t^ he should not need y^m^ at y^t^ time.

From hence he direct'd his march towards * Oxford, & by y^e^ way Quarter'd at Woobourn, my L^d^ of Bedfords house, w^th^out great interruption, but y^t^ y^e^ horse from Bedford fell upon some of ours y^t^ were straggling [straggling] & took and kill'd some of y^m^, as we had done y^e^ like before; for coming near a town of my L^d^ Duke of Richmond's, M^r^ Webb, his secretary, would try if he could get up any monys, & for y^t^ purpose takes a party of horse w^th^ him in y^e^ town, & before his going in sends a boy to discover whether y^e^ Baileffe were at y^e^ house or no; but finding at every door a soulgier, he returns to give y^m^ notice, where

* Clarendon furnishes no detailed account of this march from Newark to Oxford. He says "The King now [after returning from Doncaster to Newark] with great expedition prosecuted his journey to Oxford, though not without making some starts out of the way; by which he had opportunity to beat up some Quarters of new levied Horse for the service of the Parliament." p. 692. vol. ii. part ii.

upon they suddenly coming upon y^m took y^m most of y^m.

I never observ'd any great severity in y^e King, us'd either toward y^e enemy w^n he had him in his power, or to y^e Soulgier in his own army, except only at* Wing, a house of my L^d Canarvan's, where he command'd to be hang'd upon a sign post, a soulgier, for stealing a Chalice out of y^e church. In our march to Oxford y^e last place we came to was Bristoll [Borstall] house made strong w^th works and moat'd, w^ch Sr Wm Campion had y^e command of, & very gallantly behav'd himself, w^n General Fairfax laid seige to it upon y^e first advance of his army, a little before y^e battle of Nasby; but he soon left off y^t attempt† w^n he found it cost him dear, thinking to

* Near Uppingham, Rutlandshire.

† It was taken by the Rebels next year. Anthony a Wood gives this account of the surrender, in his Diary. "Wednesday June 10 [1646] the Garrison of Borstall was surrendred for the use of the Parliament. The School-boys were allowed by their Master a free Libertie that Day, and many of them went thither (4 miles distant [from Thame]) about 8 or 9 of the clock in the Morning, to see the forme of Surrender, the strength of the Garrison, and the Soldiers of each partie. They, and particularly A. W., had instructions given to them before they went, that not one of them should either tast any Liquor, or eat any Provision in the Garrison; and the reason was, for fears the royal partie, who were to march out thence, should mix Poyson among the Liquor or Provision that they should leave there. But as A. W. remembred, he could not get into the

have storm'd it; & from thence went to Oxford, to beseige y^t^ Garison. At Oxford y^e^ King tarry'd but one day, not knowing where to repose himself, & yet wheresoever he march'd he was sure enough to be follow'd by Poynze, who had his orders given him to attend y^e^ Kings motion. Therefore y^e^ King will once again secure himself among y^e^ mountains of Wales, but first he will go to Worster a garison of his own: & because y^e^ Scots had long beseig'd Hereford, he would go to raise y^e^ seige, w^ch^ he might y^e^ more easily do, the Scots having sent away all their horse, as I said before, into y^e^ North; & altho' he want'd foot, yet w^th^ his own horse, & a willingness he found both of y^e^ soulgiers of y^e^ garison & of y^e^ country people, to assist him for y^e^ releif of Hereford, their neighbour Garison, he thought it a thing y^t^ might be done; whereupon y^e^ soulgiers of y^e^ Garison were drawn out & ready to march, w^n^ notice was given y^t^ y^e^ Scots were risen & marcht away to Gloster. *The people were joyfull of y^e^ Kings coming, & many came out to meet him.

Garrison, but stood, as hundreds did, without the Works, where he saw the Governour S^r^. Will. Campion, a little man who upon some occasion or other layd flat on the ground on his belly, to write a Letter, or Bill, or the form of a pass, or some such thing." The Gateway of Borstall House with rooms over it still remains. The king arrived in Oxford August 28.

* "This news [of the Scotch raising the siege] was so welcome, and his Majesty was received with so full joy into the

Here we found all places about y^e^ town made Levell, where as before they stood upon y^e^ same ground, fair houses & Goodly Orchards. I went to see y^e^ house, where I formerly Quarter'd, & found it pull'd down, & y^e^ Gentlewoman y^t^ had liv'd in it dead upon grief to see y^e^ ruins of her house. We stay'd not long here but took our march towards Raglang y^e^ L^d^ of Worsters house, over y^e^ River Wye, upon y^e^ bridge y^e^ Scots had made: y^e^ other being broken down, & this made substantiall w^th^ strong piles of Timber after this mannor: they took 2 peices of Timber a foot & a half thick, sharp at y^e^ end & of such a length as might be answerable to y^e^ dept of y^e^ river: these they twine together at y^e^ distance of 2 foot, w^ch^ by some device being let down into y^e^ river & forc'd deep into y^e^ ground w^th^ a Commander, not perpendicular, but leaning a slope according to y^e^ nature of y^e^ river. Also they set 2 other posts opposite to these, after y^e^ same mannor, w^ch^ being 40 foot wide at y^e^ bottom, was set to w^th^stand y^e^ violence of y^e^ river.

Both these having transams of 2 foot long mortiz'd into y^m^ w^th^ in y^e^ distances of y^e^ 2 peices of timber, where they joyn'd, are stay'd at both ends w^th^ 2

City of Hereford that there was not the opportunity embraced to discommode at least, if not to ruin the Scots Army; which now passed through a strange country where they had never been, and where the whole Nation was extremely odious to the People." Clarendon [Book IX.] p. 693. vol. ii. part 2.

braces, w^ch being clos'd & fasten'd into y^e contrary side, made y^e work so strong together, y^t y^e more it was shaken by y^e violence of y^e water, y^e more it fasten'd y^e peices of Timber. These were woven together w^th some plane stuff, & cover'd w^th wands & hurdles: there were also cross piles laid in y^e bottom of y^e water, & fastn'd to y^e whole work, w^ch should be as a Countermure to receive y^e fource of y^e water; also others above y^e bridge, a little distance, y^t if any should cast into y^e water any thing to endanger y^e work, by this defence y^e fource might be abat'd & y^e bridge preserv'd.

Not altogether unlike y^e bridge w^ch Cæsar made over y^e Rhine, as he thus describes it, in his Commentarys. Tigna bina sesquipedalia, paullum ab imo præacuta, dimensa ad altitudinem fluminis, intervallo pedum duorum inter se jungebat; hæc cum machinationibus demissa in flumen defixerat, fistucisque adegerat, non sublicæ modo directa ad perpendiculum, sed prona ac fastigiata, ut secundum naturam fluminis procumberent: his item contraria duo ad eundem modum juncta, intervallo pedum quadragenum ab inferiore parte contra vim atque impetum fluminis conversa statuebat: hæc utraque bipedalibus trabibus immissis, quantum eorum tignorum junctura distabat, binis utrimque fibulis ab extrema parte distinebantur; quibus disclusis, atque in contrariam partem revinctis, tanta erat operis firmitudo, atque ea rerum natura, ut, quo major vis aquæ se incitavisset hoc arctius illigata

tenerentur: hæc directa materia injecta contexebantur, ac longuriis cratibusque consternebantur: ac nihilo secius sublicæ ad inferiorem partem fluminis obliquæ adigebantur, quæ pro pariete subjectæ, & cum omni opere conjunctæ, vim fluminis exciperent: & alia item supra pontem mediocri spatio, ut si arborum trunci sive naves, dejiciendi operis causa, essent a barbaris missæ, his defensoribus, earum rerum vis minueretur, neu ponti nocerent. Diebus decem, quibus materia cœpta erat comportari, omni opere effecto exercitus transducitur.*

While y^e^ King stay'd at Ragland †, he sent to his

* De Bell. Gall. Lib. iv. c.c. 17, 18.

† It was here that the Conference between the King and the Marquis concerning Religion, published in 1649 by Dr. Bayly Sub-dean of Wells, took place. Dr. Bayly's book is entitled "Certamen Religiosum, or a Conference between his late Majestie Charles king of England, and Henry late Marques and Earl of Worcester, concerning Religion; at his Majestie's being at Raglan Castle, 1646. Wherein the maine differences (now in controversie) between the Papists and the Protestants is no lesse briefly then accuratly discuss'd and bandied. Now published for the worlds satisfaction of his Majesties constant affection to the Protestant Religion. By Tho. Baylie, Doctor in Divinity and Sub-Deane of Wells."

It appears from Dr. Bayly's narrative that a Conference was arranged to take place between the King and the Marquis in pursuance of a preconceived design of the Marquis, who, in order to the secrecy which would be thought necessary by the King, had lodged his Majesty in another chamber whence easy access might be had to the room where the meeting should be,

nephew prince Ruport who was y^e^ at Bristol, to come over y^e^ water & meet him at M^r^. Moore's house, a little distant from y^e^ black rock *; having it once in his intention to go to Bristol, & some things he had sent over y^e^ water, w^ch^ were lost; but upon their meeting he alter'd of his purposse, & return'd y^t^ night to Ragland again; yet stay'd he not there,

" and not in the great Tower which was the roome he [the Marquis] most esteemed of all in the Castle." Independently of its great historical interest, this pamphlet is curious from the quaintness of the Writer's style. When the time is drawing near to the hour fixed for the nocturnal meeting of the King and Marquis, he says, " The time drawing near, that the Dominical letter was to dispute with the Golden Number, I opened the Marquesses door." Then, while bringing in the King he enters into a rather abstruse discussion with him as to the propriety of the conference, which he abruptly breaks off " desiring his Majestie to pardon me, further, in regard that I had left my Lord Marquess in the dark." Dr. Bayly afterwards became a Papist himself, but not till after he had published this pamplet. It should be mentioned that in the title-page the conference is said to have been in 1646, and the title of this pamphlet is copied in the Biographical Dictionary without correcting the mistake.

* At Beachley, which is opposite to Aust in Gloucestershire; between which two places is that passage which is called the " Old Passage," over the river Severn. This interview of the King with Prince Rupert, which is a very remarkable circumstance considering Prince Rupert's rather questionable surrender of Bristol so shortly after [September 11.], has escaped Clarendon.

but remov'd back to Hereford*, & hearing of Poynze advance he gives orders to have a randevous 8 miles off upon a Mountain, thinking we should have march'd forwards; but w^n we were drawn up he commands us to march directly back, & Quarter beyond Hereford; Poynze having his intelligence abroad, & understanding where he meant to be, march'd in y^e night to be w^th us; but being thus defeat'd we gain'd so much of him by this, & by y^e wayes we took thro' y^e almost unaccessable mountains of Wales, y^t we heard no more of him, nor did he trouble our march till we got to Chester; & tho he troubl'd us not, yet found we both loss & trouble in our passage; loss in our horses, many of y^m tireing, so y^t y^e Troopers were fain to forsake y^m.

In our Quarters we had little accommodation; but of all y^e places we came to, y^e best at old Radnor, where y^e King lay in a poor low Chamber, & my L^d of Linsey & others by y^e Kitching fire on hay; no better were we accommodat'd for victuals; w^ch makes me remember this passage; w^n y^e King was at his supper eating a pullet & a peice of Cheese, y^e room w^thout was full, but y^e men's stomacks empty for want of meat; y^e good wife troubl'd w^th continual calling upon her for victuals, & having it seems but

* Clarendon says that the King despatched his letter to Prince Rupert upbraiding him with the surrender of Bristol, as soon as he came to Hereford, and the letter is dated September 14, 1645.

y^t^ one cheese, comes into y^e^ room where y^e^ King was, & very soberly asks if y^e^ King had done w^th^ y^e^ cheese, for y^e^ Gentlemen w^th^out desir'd it.

But y^e^ best was, we never tarry'd long in any place, & therefore might y^e^ more willingly endure one night's hardship, in hopes y^e^ next night might be better. And thus we continu'd our march, untill we came to Chester*, where we found my L^d^ Byron in command in y^e^ town, & y^e^ enemy in y^e^ subburs, & so close y^t^ it was some hazard to y^e^ King to pass y^e^ bridge. Now our horse quarter'd about 3 miles off, except only y^e^ Kings lifeguard, & my †L^d^ Garrards horse, both w^ch^ were drawn into y^e^ town, & preparations made y^e^ next day to have a Sally; but while they were busy to carry out y^e^ Dung y^t^ baricadod up y^e^ gate y^t^ led to y^e^ suburbs, a messenger came y^t^ brought y^e^ King word, y^t^ Poynze had ingag'd S^r^. Marmaduke Langdale to fight: & a little after we heard y^t^ we had taken some colours of y^e^ enemys, but y^t^ y^e^ King must send supplys, by reason y^t^ y^e^ enemy increas'd by that assistance they had from neighbouring Garisons w^ch^ flock'd to y^m^; whereupon y^e^ King sends forth both my L^d^ of Litchfeild & L^d^ Garrard w^th^

* Clarendon says "Within four days [after leaving Hereford] though through very unpleasant ways, the King came within half a days Journey of Chester."

† Charles Gerard, created Lord Gerard, November 8 this year.

those y^t^ were in y^e^ town; but before they could joyne, our horse was beaten; & in y^e^ view of y^e^ town, & of y^e^ King; who at y^e^ very same time was in one of y^e^ towers of y^e^ wall, looking over to see our men & theirs in y^e^ suburbs exchange some bullets one w^th^ another. We took it first for y^e^ enemy till some came wound'd & brought us y^e^ sad news y^t^ our horse was rout'd, many taken, & my L^d^ Litchfeild slain*.

Here I do wonder at y^e^ admirable temper of y^e^ King; whose constancy was such y^t^ no perills never so unavoidable could move him to astonishment; but y^t^ still he set y^e^ same face & settl'd countenance upon w^t^ adverse forturne soever befell him; & neither was exalt'd in prosperity nor deject'd in adversity; w^ch^ was y^e^ more admirable in him, seing y^t^ he had no

* "Major-General Poyntz follows with all imaginable speed after him; and on Routon Heath within some two miles of Chester began to engage with his Majesty's forces, who charged with such resolution that they routed the Major, and were in pursuit of him, when at the same instant Col. Jones and Adjutant Louthian having drawn out 500 horse and 300 foot from their Leaguer before Chester, came up to his assistance, charging the king's troops on the other side, which gave Poyntz's men an opportunity to rally, and then there began a most furious fresh encounter, wherein at last the King's forces having to deal with Poyntz in the Front and Jones in the Rear, were discomfited, five or six hundred of them slain upon the place, among whom was the Lord Berty Stuart Earl of Litchfield &c." Rushworth, p. 117. part iv. vol. i.

other to have recourse unto for councell & assistance, but must bear y^e^ whole burden upon his shoulders; w^n^ as y^e^ General of an army, if it be destroy'd, hath recourse to those y^t^ employ'd him, which will somewhat ease his heart's greife, & supply y^e^ Loss by new Levies: & [by] this accident I never found him mov'd at all: tho' y^e^ loss was so much y^e^ greater by my L^d^ of Litchfeilds death, his Kingsman, & whom he lov'd so dearly. But this makes him look y^e^ nearer to his own safety, & therefore gives order for his march y^e^ next day w^th^ those horse y^t^ came safe to y^e^ town; w^ch^ we left w^th^out all hopes of releif, to make conditions for y^m^ selves for [the] storm, if they durst attempt no more.

We march'd over y^e^ bridge in y^e^ day, having set up some blinds y^t^ they might not take notice so easily w^n^ y^e^ King pass'd over: & except one horse y^t^ was kill'd, I think no other took any harm; from hence we march'd to * Danby [Denbigh] Castle, w^ch^ is one of y^e^ strongest we came at in Wales, & after y^t^ to Ruthen, till at last by unknown ways & passages, w^th^ many dark &

* The King "staid in Chester only one night after this blow, but returned by the same way by which he had come, to Denbigh Castle in North Wales, being attended only with five hundred horse; and there he staid three days to refresh himself, and to rally such of his Troops as had stayed within any distance, and there he stayed till his broken troops were rallied again; so that he had in view four and twenty hundred Horse." Clarendon, Book ix. p. 714. vol. ii. part 2.

late marches, we arriv'd at y^e^ Garison of Newark, about y^e^ *14 of October.

The King makes no stay, but marcheth forth to Tuxford, after to Worsop, where at a randevous, it was agreed y^t^ y^e^ Northern horse commanid'd by S^r^. Marmaduke Langdale, my L^d^ Digby, & my †L^d^ Cornwath a Scotsman going also along w^th^ y^m^, should march into y^e^ North to joyn w^th^ my L^d^ Mount-ross; y^e^ King & y^e^ remaining horse should go back to Newark; but this design took no effect: for at Sherbourne they were overtaken by y^e^ Yorkshire horse command'd by Coll. Copley, made over secure by their present success, having taken & made prisoners all their foot, to y^e^ number of eight hundred men w^ch^ y^n^ lay in Sherbourne; & before our horse could be drawn out of y^e^ town, the enemys horse appears on this side Milford; they must fight y^m^ w^th^ so many as they could make ready: & at y^e^ first charge beats Copley, but being receiv'd by Coll. Lilbourne & not second'd by ours, they were put to y^e^ worst & so quite rout'd, leaving dead upon y^e^ spot about 40, whereof S^r^. Richard Hutton was one, & Coll. Carnaby & others‡. Those w^ch^ escap'd fled to

* Rushworth says the 4th.

† Robert Dalziel, Earl of Carnwath in the peerage of Scotland, taken prisoner afterwards at Worcester fight.

‡ "Letters from Colonel Copley informed . . . that he engaged their whole Body about Milford, routed and pursued them three Miles, slew Colonel Carnaby, Col. Hutton, several

Skipton, but Capt^e. *Robert Slingsby being sore wound'd was left at Abaforth [Abberford] where he had his wounds dress'd & cur'd.

My L^d Digby & y^e horse remain'd, makes still Northward till they came upon y^e border, where a 2^d misfortune befell y^m. For no sooner was he come into Scotland †, but upon a sudden y^e Scotch horse falls into their Quarters, & utterly ruings & disperses y^m. My L^d Digby, my L^d Cornwath, S^r. Marmaduke Langdale, & y^e better sort, got a boat, w^ch waft'd y^m into y^e Isle of Man; y^e rest endur'd a great deel of misery before they got into their own country. W^n y^e King turn'd back to Newark, prince Ruport makes a venture to come to him w^th an 100 men thro' y^e enemy's Country, & was forc'd many times to fight for his passage, & not [without] some loss to y^e adverse party; for meeting w^th y^e horse of Burley house, he slew y^e governour y^t would be following too near his heels; yet being way laid by y^e Lincon-

officers and 40 others." Whitelock's Memorials [October 20, 1645.] p. 177.

* Probably the Gentleman created Baronet March 16, 1660-1.

† Clarendon says they got to Dumfries, but does not mention this fact of their being routed by the Scotch, and is very severe on Lord Digby for leaving his Troops without any sufficient cause: but it appears, from Rushworth, that Sir John Brown, the Scotch Governor of Carlisle, routed them on Carlisle Sands, and that they did not reach Dumfries.

shire horse, he recover'd Beverly castle w^th^ much difficulty. While y^e^ King stay'd at Newark there grew some discontents, w^ch^ increas'd to some heat between y^e^ prince & y^e^ King, & in y^e^ conclusion such was y^e^ effect, y^t^ neither y^e^ prince nor his partakers (w^ch^ were y^e^ L^d^ Garrard, & Willis y^e^ Governour,) would tarry longer in y^e^ town, but desiring leave, they will be gone. This hapn'd after I went in disguise from Newark to my own house, w^th^ intention to supply my wants w^th^ mony, whereof a long time I had had great scarcity; & before my return this hapn'd, & y^e^ king himself was gone to Oxford, who instead of Willis had made L^d^ Bellasyse governour in y^t^ Garison*.

I tarry'd about a month at † Heslewood; & kept in so privately y^t^ I was not seen of any. And I went to my own house; I took y^e^ night time for it, & in y^e^ night return'd, scarce any in my own house knowing y^t^ I was there; so after I had satisfy'd my self w^th^ one days stay, & taken £40 in Gold, I resolv'd to go back to Newark: & y^t^ must be presently, for y^e^ Scots had appoint'd a randevous in order to their march to Newark, & I must not think to go

* The particulars of this transaction may be read, p. 719 et seqq. Book ix. vol. ii. part 2. Clarendon: and Lord Bellasyse's own account of Prince Rupert's conduct may be read in Pepys's Diary, p. 247. vol. ii. The King reached Oxford, November 6.

† Five Miles from Hull.

thither if I got not thither before y^m^; & as I came, so I went, in disguise, but not y^e^ same way: for I came by Doncaster, but I went back by Cowick, thro' y^e^ Levell, & by good fortune return'd safe to Newark.

About y^e^ latter end of November, y^e^ Scots comes to Muscome [Muskham] a little off Newark, where at y^e^ bridge we had a guard; but being not able to maintain it, we fir'd y^e^ bridge & retreat'd not so directly [discreetly] as we ought; for leaving it before y^e^ fire had well taken hold y^e^ Scots came & quench'd it: this gave y^m^ advantage w^th^out interruption to encamp their foot upon y^e^ meadows w^th^in y^e^ Isle, & so falls to work making their approaches nearer by two redoubts they cast up on either hand. From these they sent us some Drake shott, w^ch^ might hinder our men from working at y^e^ bridge, where we made a spurwork, & also where they made a damm across y^e^ Water to keep it high; as y^e^ Scots had made one to draw y^e^ water from us; & this they made w^th^out useing either Timber or stone, but w^th^ only earth, beginning at both sides to cast down earth upon an heap, & so following on untill they met at y^e^ middle by contracting y^e^ river into a narrower stream, till at last they quite clos'd it up:

Upon y^e^ other side of y^e^ town lay Poynze & Rositer, who at first lay but in Quarters so y^t^ our horse could go in parties & fetch many provisions & sometimes a prisoner; but if they found him a rich booty

they will sometimes let him go for his mony: as they did by S^r^. Tho. Malevorer. But w^n^ y^e^ days began to grow longer, their forces drew nearer us, & made their Line from y^e^ middle of y^e^ Hill by y^e^ water of Trent, on both sides of y^e^ town. The garison was well fortified & victual'd, especial for bread & bear, & had their fortifycations as well w^th^out y^e^ town, by two regular Lines or sconces, as about it w^th^ a deep graft & strong bulwarks; & on y^e^ outside of y^e^ graft they made two Rows of holes y^e^ height of a man in depth, & so near y^t^ it might hinder their sudden assaulting of y^e^ works.

The first thing y^e^ Governour did was to call a muster of all y^e^ horse in y^e^ town, & to purge out such horse as might be uncerciable [unserviceable] in y^e^ seige; y^n^ to list & put under command all y^t^ were in y^e^ town, y^t^ every one might know whether to resort if their works should be assault'd; & to busy y^e^ enemy y^e^ more we would be continually giving of y^m^ alarams; w^ch^ put y^m^ to so hard duty in so cold & frosty a winter as was not almost to be endur'd; once they had almost taken Poynze in his Quarters, & but y^t^ y^e^ darkness of y^e^ night favour'd him he had not escap'd: w^n^ our enemy drew nearer to us our horse made a sally at y^e^ lower end of y^e^ town, & so coming up along y^e^ Graft (w^ch^ was so deep y^t^ they were unseen) appears suddenly at y^e^ other end, near unto w^ch^ y^e^ enemy had a Troop of horse, & as it hapn'd Poynze himself there w^th^ y^m^.

Our horse, upon a Gallop w^th^out once drawing up, advanceth towards y^m^, w^ch^ they perceiving advanceth likewise towards a work wherein they had some Musqueteers: but, this not at all discouraging our men, they charge home w^th^ y^m^ & at last broke y^m^, who to save y^m^ selves, as many as could not take over y^e^ bridge w^ch^ they had made over a little brook, take into y^e^ water, whereof many were drown'd; this was some encouragement to our men w^n^ w^th^ a small party they could vanquish double y^r^ number y^t^ they were: & this they have often try'd. Albeit they were put to y^e^ worst, w^n^ they should have beaten up y^e^ Scots Quarters at Muscome, taking y^e^ advantage of y^e^ frost, w^ch^ was so hard y^t^ horse & men might ride on y^e^ Ice; for tho' they took y^m^ suddenly & unexpect'd, yet were y^e^ Scots soon ready for them & overpowering y^m^ beat y^m^ out again w^th^ y^e^ loss of Major Whitmore, who had undertaken y^e^ leading on y^e^ foot. We made a sally likewise into y^e^ Isle w^th^ horse & foot in hopes to have beaten y^e^ Scots out of y^e^ work.

They maintain'd on y^e^ east side of y^e^ meadows, where they had also a strong guard of horse. Major General Air brings on y^e^ horse, & my L^d^ of Lexington y^e^ foot; y^e^ Scotch horse seing ours come towards y^m^ draws up into y^e^ work by a close body, excepting [expecting] our charge; our horse likewise come up to y^m^, but by reason of a ditch w^ch^ seperated y^m^ we could not break in upon y^m^; wherefore 20 of y^m^ takes a compass about & falls upon y^e^ rear, & did

so fast labour y^m w^th their long tucks y^t they could not endure it, but as many of their horse as might, gets into their works, w^ch they stood hard by. This was in sight of y^e parliaments 3 Generals, as it y^n hapn'd, for at y^e same time both Poynze, Lesley, Rossesster, were come into y^e Isle, who, had y^e design taken well, might have been taken: but they drew so fast over y^e water w^th their horse, y^t our horse had command given y^m to retreat, & by y^e help of our foot y^t lay in y^e ditches, we made a secure retreat back into y^e town *.

Now all hopes of releife was taken away from us; we could not rely any thing upon y^e King, for he was close beseig'd at Oxford; neither could we expect any releif from y^e Marquess of Montross, for Davie Leslie had chas'd him into y^e Mountains: yet we had provision enough to hold out yet longer, but our best way was to apply our selves to a treaty & get as honorable Conditions as might be: w^ch we made no doubt would be grant'd, if this occasion had not hapn'd just while we were upon our treaty.

* "A sally out of Newark with four hundred Horse and a thousand Foot upon the Scots Guards, the Bridge being down, none of the rest of the Army could come to assist them, and the Newarkers were double the number to the Scots in that Place, but after a little time some got over to them, and the Newarkers retreated, having killed one Captain, two Lieutenants, and eight Soldiers, and about twenty wounded, and few of their own party left behind them." Whitelock's Memorials [March 7, 1645] p. 196.

[1646.]

Notice was given us from y^e^ Scotch camp y^t^ *y^e^ King was come among y^m^ in disguise, willing rather to yeild himself unto y^e^ Scots, who shew'd some moderation, y^n^ to y^e^ parliament of England, who so vehemently prosecuted him. †Therefore he sends to y^e^ Governour to make up an agreement speedily, for he knew y^e^ parliament would demand him of y^e^ Scots, & upon refusall offer'd [offer] to hinder his march. This command of y^e^ King, & I may alledge y^e^ plaige too, w^ch^ was so hot among us, might be sufficient cause of ours so hasty yielding up y^e^ town. Whereupon Articles of Rendition being conclud'd & agreed upon, on both sides & parts, We yeild'd up y^e^ town, & march'd out y^e^ 8 of May 1646. [*in y^e^ Margent y^e^ 7 of May*] ‡.

* The King came to the Scotch camp, May 5, 1646.

† See Pepys's Diary, p. 246. vol. ii. for a curious account by Lord Bellasyse himself, of the singular method by which the King conveyed his message to him secretly. Lord Bellasyse related that in this message the King "told him that at such a day, the 3d or 6th of May, he should hear of his being come to the Scots, being assured by the King of France, that in coming to them he should be used with all the liberty, honour, and safety, that could be desired."

‡ Note of Sir Savile. It was May 8 that the Garrison marched out: Rushworth says, "The sickness being very hot in the Town occasioned the surrender thereof a day sooner than was agreed upon; so that it was yielded up on Friday the 8th

The king & y^e^ Scots army marches away y^e^ day before as far as Tuxford, where at a randevous I came to y^m^, taking y^e^ opportunity of having y^e^ company of a Scotch Cap^t^. who came to view y^e^ Garison a day before we yeild'd up y^e^ Town: & so lay y^t^ night at Kelham at M^rs^. Loves house, where y^e^ King had lodg'd y^e^ night before.

In 5 days march we came to Topliff w^th^ a speedy quick march: & herein y^e^ Scots may be commend'd for their order & good discipline, both in taking up their Quarters & in their march, whether it was by reason of y^e^ King being among y^m^, or y^t^ it was usual for y^m^ so to do, I cannot tell; for this was y^e^ first time I came into their Quarters; but they shew'd a great [deal] of celerity: not a man scarce seen to [be] strangland [straggling] or be out of rank, & if they made an hault they never made it both w^th^ horse & foot together; but if y^e^ horse hault'd y^e^ foot march'd thro. A little before we came to Topliff where y^e^ King din'd, I was command'd by y^e^ King to return home; w^ch^ was, as I said before, upon y^e^ 11 of May 1646; & after taking leave of y^e^ King I went to Newbrough, where my daughter was w^th^ my brother Bellasyse; & after a days rest came up to Red house.

of May, the officers and soldiers marching to their own respective home, there being scarce any Garrison of the King's unbesieged to which they might resort."

That w^ch I thought would give me ease & content after so many variety of changes, was an occasion of my greater trouble; for coming home to my house I found an opposite aspect from York, & private Notice given me y^t I should not come there; w^ch was a sign they intend'd me no quiet living here; as it prov'd to me afterwards; for I had not been here above a month's space, but contrary to their faith given, & Articles at y^e Rendition of Newark, y^e Mayor Alderman Watson, sends soulgiers to apprehend me: but having a little notice given of their intention, I slipt out of their way, & for a long time kept so close w^thin my house, y^t they could never tell where I was.

This gave me liberty of being out of their hands, but depriv'd me of my health, as wanting liberty to enjoy y^e free air, & keping close in one room w^th out air; Having thus pass'd y^e year, I hear y^e parliament began to treat w^th y^e Scots to have y^e King return'd back unto y^m, making show they would give him an honourable reception: & to perswade y^e more, they make ready for his entertainment Holmly house: & to give better colour to their feign'd friendship they send my L^d Pembroke, once his L^d Chamberlain, to receive him & conduct him to Holmley.

†The Scots were easily persuad'd to deliver him,

† The Scotch consented to surrender the King, by their letter to Parliament dated January 16, 1646-7. The Earl of Pembroke and his fellow-commissioners arrived at Newcastle January 23, and arrived with the King at Holmby February 16.

& they might lawfully chaleng an interest, being as he was, a prince born among y^m^ & their annoynt'd King: for y^e^ Island of great Brittain was once govern'd by one King, w^n^ y^e^ late Kings father unit'd y^e^ two kingdoms by having lawful Title to both; but in process of time y^e^ people grew weary of this, & sought by all means to divide y^m^: in this partition y^e^ parliament takes to y^m^selves y^t^ part w^ch^ was y^e^ richest, & leaves to y^e^ king & Scots y^t^ part w^ch^ was barren wild & unhabitable.

As there was a disproportion in this division, so also a disparity in their dispositions, y^e^ one being mild & tractible, y^e^ other stout, covetous, & impatient of a companion: & both at first living in cunning & disembling concord, 'untill at last y^e^ one began to exceed his bounds, & to assume a power over y^e^ other, & to use violence if resist'd: hereupon y^e^ king being troubl'd, y^t^ those things w^ch^ were once settl'd should be disturb'd, sends to y^m^ presently, & commands y^m^ to lay down their arms; whereupon y^e^ Scots dismiss'd y^e^ forces they had prepar'd, & y^n^ y^e^ parliament w^th^ great modesty requests a place of meeting, to end all controverses by conference: to all w^ch^ y^e^ King yeilds, w^th^ a facility of

Rushworth relates that at Newcastle "the Earl of Pembroke told his Majesty they were commanded by both Houses of Parliament to attend him to Holmby, at which his Majesty did not seem at all surprized, but enquired how the ways were, &c."

nature, & y^e^ parliament accepts of all w^th^ a reserv'd meaning; untill, having gotten him into y^e^ house appoint'd for his entertainment they made him at last know he was their prisoner.

Like unto y^e^ Story I find recorded by Tacitus, in his 2^nd^ book of annals, w^ch^ I will here set down, concerning y^e^ differences y^t^ did arise between Rhescuporis and Cotys. Omnem eam nationem Rhæmetalces tenuerat: quo defuncto Augustus partem Thracum Rhescuporidi, fratri ejus, partem filio Cotyi permisit. In ea divisione arva & urbes & Vicina Græcis Cotyi; Quod incultum, ferox, annexum hostibus, Rhescuporidi cessit: ipsorumq regum ingenia, illi mite & amænum, huic atrox, avidum, & societatis impatiens erat. Et primo subdola concordia egere; mox Rhescuporis egredi fines, vertere in se Cotyi data, & resistenti vim facere; cunctanter sub Augusto, quem auctorem utriusque regni, si sperneretur, vindicem metuebat. Enimvero, audita mutatione principis, immittere latronunum globos, exscindere castella, causas bello. Nihil æque Tiberium anxium habebat, quam, ne composita turbarentur. Deligit Centuriorem, qui nunciaret regibus, ne armis disceptarent. Statimque a Cotye dimissa sunt quæ paraverat auxilia. Rhescuporis ficta modestia postulat, eundem in locum coiretur: posse de controversiis colloquio transigi. Nec diu dubitatum de Tempore, loco, dein conditionibus: cum alter facilitate, alter fraude, cuncta inter se concederent, acciperentque. Rhescuporis

sanciendo, ut dictitabat, fœderi convivium adjicit: tractaque in multam noctem lœtitia, per epulas & vinolentiam incautum Cotyn, &, postq^m^ dolum intellexerat, Sacra regni, ejusdem familiæ deas, & hospitales mensas obtestantem, catenis onerat*.

[1647.]

But not w^th^ standing all his prayers & intreates, they would not release him, but keeps him their prisoner: & while I remain'd conceal'd in my own house I could hear of his going to Holmby†, to y^e

* Tacit. Ann. ii. 64-5.

† From Holmby the King was forcibly taken, without so much as the sanction of the Parliament, by the tailor Cornet Joyce, June 3. This person on being desired by the King to produce his warrant for his removal held up his pistol. By Joyce the King was conveyed to Newmarket to the Army, with which he moved, first to Maidenhead, then to Caversham; at both which places he was permitted to see his children, and at the latter to have them with him during two whole days; a satisfaction, says Clarendon, "the receiving whereof, he imputed to the civility of the General, and the good disposition of the Army; which made so much the more impression upon him, in that he had never made any one proposition in which he had been gratified, where the Presbyterian Spirit had power to deny it." Thence the King was conveyed to Hampton Court; from which place he effected his escape November 11; and taking refuge at the Earl of Southampton's at Tichfield, was thence removed to Carisbrooke Castle in the Isle of Wight, on or about November 15; having been betrayed into Col.

Isle of White, & to Whitehall at last; where he end'd his good life upon ỳ^e 30 of January 1648-9.

Hammond's hands by the gross want of conduct of his trusted servants Mr. Ashburnham and Sir John Berkeley. Here, in September 1648, the last ineffectual attempt was made for a treaty between the King and the Parliament: the King and the Commissioners met on the 18th, at Sir William Hodges's in Newport, (which is close to Carisbrooke Castle,) and began the treaty: this was on a Monday: on the 16th previous, Saturday, Rushworth relates, that "the King caused a fast to be kept, with the Lords, and the Bishops, Doctors, and the rest of the Household and Attendance, for a blessing upon the Treaty. The Book of Common Prayer was exactly read, with the Litany and all other parts thereof; and this prayer following was added.

A Prayer drawn by his Majesty's Speciall Direction and Dictates, for a blessing on the Treaty at Newport.

O most merciful Father, Lord God of Peace and Truth, We, a People sorely afflicted by the Scourge of an unnatural War, do earnestly beseech Thee, to command a Blessing from Heaven upon this present Treaty, begging for the establishment of a happy peace. Soften the most obdurate Hearts with a true Christian Desire of Saving those Mens blood for whom Christ himself hath shed his; or if the guilt of our great Sins cause this Treaty to break off in vain, Lord, let the Truth clearly appear who those men are, which under pretence of the publick Good, do pursue their own private Ends; that this people may be no longer so blindly miserable, as not to see at least in this their day, the things that belong unto their Peace. Grant this, gracious God, for his sake who is our Peace itself, even Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."

The Treaty was broken off November 25. On the 30th the

I hear; heu me; quid heu me? humana perpessi sumus. Thus I end'd these commentaries or book of remembrance, beginning in y^e^ Year 1638, & ending in y^e^ Year 1648.

Since my coming home, I did pare off [the] swath & gravell of y^t^ walk w^ch^ is on y^e^ side of y^e^ West Orchard w^ch^ W^m^ Hinkes plant'd, & set y^e^ walk w^th^ Trees; on one side Ash, & y^e^ other Sycamore; & among y^m^ one Oake plant'd in y^e^ year 1622.

Tho. Adamson my Gardener, in y^e^ Year 1646, at my coming home set y^t^ Ash w^ch^ grows by y^e^ causey as you go by y^e^ Cowstable to y^e^ Ings.

In y^e^ year one thousand six hundred & thirty eight there hapn'd to be great Winds, as I took notice in y^e^ beginning of this book; so in y^e^ year 1648 there hapn'd great flouds as seldome hath been known, w^ch^ carry'd away much Hay; & where it was not cut, it so floud'd y^e^ Grass, y^t^ it could not be cut at all. A year fatal, & very remarkable: in w^ch^ y^e^ Scots lost their army, & y^e^ English their King: & to stand as a perpetual mark, y^e^ same flood y^t^ year carry'd down y^e^ root of a tree & leaves it upon y^e^ bank of the West Inges at Red house. Elevarunt flumina fluctus suos, & conturbaverunt eum.

King was carried to Hurst Castle: In the end of December to Windsor: January 19, 1648-9 to St. James's: on the 20th his mock trial began: on the 30th the spirit of Fanaticism obtained its final triumph in his Martyrdom. At this crisis, Sir Henry, with characteristic Loyalty, gives up all notice of public events.

[1649.]

Tho. Adamson in y^e^ year 1649 set y^t^ Grove of Sycamores by y^e^ Green, w^ch^ many years ago had been y^e^ site of y^e^ house w^ch^ is now call'd Red-house*.

---

* The Estate of Scaglethorp, or as it has since been called from the material used in building, Red-house, came into the possession of Francis Slingsby the father of Sir Henry the Elder in or about 1561: having previously been the property of the Oughtreds, to whose ancient mansion Sir Henry makes allusion at the end of his Diary; the dimensions of which, still pretty clearly appearing by the moat which once surrounded it, are quite in character with the well known smallness of most of the houses of the nobiles minores previous to the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Some of the correspondence relating to this transfer of property is still in existence. Very shortly after his Father's death, Sir Henry the elder appears to have made Red-House his residence for we find letters of his dated there in 1602. He lived to complete the Chapel, the fitting up of which was probably finished in or about 1621, for in a letter of his daughter Anne Slingsby to him in that year, the making of the pulpit by a York workman is mentioned. But the circumstance of his dying at another house in the immediate neighbourhood of his own, seems to shew that the house was not then completed, and therefore that it was not merely an alteration which Sir Henry the younger afterwards made.

Red-House stands on the south bank of the Ouse at a short

distance from the river, and a little below the point of its junction with the Nidd. It is in the parish of Moor-Monkton, and seven miles distant from York, and is within the Ainsty.

It ceased to be the family residence about the middle of the last Century; and the late Baronet Sir Thomas Slingsby, son of Sir Thomas Turner Slingsby, caused the greater part of it to be pulled down. A short notice of a chamber in the part pulled down, called the Star Chamber, may be seen in Hargrove's Knaresborough. The parts now remaining are, one half of the front of the house, the chapel, the summer house, and two pillars of a gateway with a very elegant ornament on the top of each, said to be the work of Inigo Jones; there was another pair which have been removed and now stand at the entrance gateway into Scriven Park.

In the part of the front still standing is the room in which King Charles the first slept in 1633, on his progress to Scotland. The Canopy of the bed is still in preservation; it is of blue damask, worked with worsted, in the same manner as the cloth of the communion table mentioned by Sir Henry in his Diary as being the work of Lady Slingsby, and is probably also her work. On this occasion a horse of Sir Henry's won the plate on Achomb moor, and at its death Sir Henry plated over it an inscription relating the circumstance, with a small representation of shoes and a saddle, all cut in stone; and caused a stone figure of the horse in a recumbent posture to be carved by Andrew Karne and placed within the site of the old mansion of the Oughtreds. Both the stones which were placed over the horse and the stone figure of it remain, [1836], but much mutilated: the stones no longer cover the place where the carcase of the horse was deposited, but lie at the outside of the east end of the chapel. The southern side of the front, looking to the river must be that which Sir Henry built after his visit to Holland house; there is still what he calls in his

Diary, "a thorough house" although many of the lights into it are now bricked up.

The chapel is still in complete repair and has been frequently used for Divine Service during the present Century. When the house was pulled down it was requisite to face the west front of the chapel anew with brick, in consequence of some beams having been fixed into the old brickwork: and this occasioned some alteration in the casing of the door-way: what is now the casing was once the door-case to one of the entrances into the house. Over the door way is the inscription, which, when Mr. Hargrove saw it, stood on the south front "PRO TERMINO VITÆ, SIC NOS NON NOBIS."

The great stair case that stood in the house was removed here when the house was pulled down, and now serves to lead up to the gallery over the ante-chapel, and to a small muniment room which projects into the chapel on the South side. It is ornamented, in the manner which Sir Henry describes, with the Crests of his friends on the tops of the balusters. They are as follows. On the left hand going up the staircase, 1. A wyvern seiant sable, holding a fleur de lys, probably meant for the crest of the Herbert Earl of Pembroke from whose house Sir Henry had a descent through his grandmother. He mentions the Lord Chamberlain in his Diary. 2. An eagle displayed Azure, Bethell. 3. A talbot seiant Argent, Stapylton. 4. A cock Gules, armed and combed Or, Vavasour. 5. A stag's head Or, (the attires are broken off) Belasyse, Visct. Fauconberg. 6. An Owl Argent, Savile. 7. A wyvern Gules, Clifford, Earl of Cumberland. On the landing place at the head of the staircase, 1. Gone. 2. A Cock Or, Ingram. 3. An otter seiant Argent, Waterton. 4. A Phœnix Argent rising out of flames Gules, Fenwick. On the left hand going down the staircase, 1. A Lion seiant Azure holding a crescent Argent, Percy, Earl of Northumberland. 2. A Lion's head erased Sable, Lord Fairfax. 3. A Lion seiant Vert, holding a Leo-

pard's face Argent, Slingsby. On the "post that bears up the half-pace" still sits the blackamore, a specimen of casting that would do credit to any artificer of the present day: beneath it is written this inscription

Melandre Profugus,
Si nullis tenebris laboriosa
Cessant pectora, pallidæque curæ,
Jam nusquam tepedo annuunt Sopori,
O Di, quis Superest locus quieti.

The dimensions of the Chapel are as follows. Total length 32 feet 2½ inches: Ante-chapel 15 ft. 7 inch., Choir 16 ft. 7½ inch. Breadth 14 ft. 5½ inch. Height 19 ft. 1 inch. The Choir is paved with squares of black and white marble placed lozengewise: the woodwork is oak and the carving upon it in a mixed style. In the north east corner stands the pulpit mentioned in Anne Slingsby's letter (see Correspondence) and within the altar-rails a massive communion table, the purple cloth of which is still preserved in the house. The Pillar with branches, which Sir Henry mentions, no longer exists. The Eastern window still remains, but it will be observed that the crucifix of which Sir Henry speaks is not now in it. It is divided by two mullions into three principal lights, each of which is again divided at top into two more. In the following description the reader must suppose himself beginning with the Northmost light, and going Southward.

The Ist of northmost light consists of three parts, the two divisions at top A, B; and the principal light below C.

A. A face.

B. The see of Lichfield, impaling, Quarterly 1 and 4, Gules, an ibeck's head erased Argent. 2 & 3, Ermine ensigned with a Mitre Or. Beneath is written in Capitals, "Tho: Morton. Lich . . ."

C. 1. a figure of faith.

2. a red pane, charged with a Crescent Argent within a

garter ensigned with an Earl's Coronet, for Percy ninth Earl of Northumberland, of whom some letters will be found in the Correspondence.

3. Per pale. Baron, Quarterly Scriven and Slingsby, Femme Mallory.

4. Per pale. Baron, Scriven and Slingsby, Femme Vavasour.

The IInd or midmost light consists of three parts, the two divisions at top D, E, and the principal light below F.

D. 1. a face.

2. a face; over it, in Capitals, "S. Jacobus Maior."

E. two faces.

F. 1. a figure of charity.

2. a circular red pane charged with the Prince of Wales's badge and motto, within a garter, and ensigned with a Prince's Coronet. There has been a date underneath which is now effaced.

3. Quarterly fourteen coats. 1, Quarterly Scriven and Slingsby. 2, Argent an Eagle displayed Sable, Stodleigh. 3, Mancester. 4, Markington. 5, Walkingham. 6, Staveley. 7, Caperon. 8, Scotton. 9, Bretton. 10, Gules a cony and a chief Argent, Sawley. 11, Argent a bend nebule cotised Sable, Nessfield. 12, Argent a bend Sable between three pellets, and on a Canton Azure a martlet Or, Warde. 13, Azure a cross fleury Argent, Melton. 14, Argent three pickaxes Or [Qy. Hammerton]. and over all an escocheon of pretence Quarterly, 1 & 4, Or, a fesse indented Sable charged with a crescent of the first, Vavasour. 2, Argent, a chevron frette between . . . heads erased Or, and on a chief of the second a saltier engrailed between two quatrefoils and two demi-fleurs-de-lys, the latter dimidiated at the extremities of the escocheon. 3, Or, two helmets in chief Azure, in fesse a Sword barwise,

the hilt to the dexter of the second, hilted of the first, and in base a garb of the first.

Crest, on an Esquire's helmet mantled, a Lion passant Or. The whole Atchievement is supported by two Lions and stands on the back of a third. It is for Sir Henry Slingsby the elder, but the Esquire's helmet (unless a mistake of the painter) seems to shew that this piece of glass was stained before his Knighthood.

Some variations occur in the coats here from those painted in the family Pedigree; a chief is added to the coat of Sawley; Nessfield is changed in its bearings and tinctures; the canton in Warde is tricked Azure instead of Sable; Melton is changed in its bearing and one of its tinctures; the fourteenth is false Heraldry. All these variations however originated probably in the carelessness or ignorance of the artizan employed in staining the glass, for the window must have been put up and the pedigree illuminated at no great interval of time.

On small quarrels and round three sides of this Atchievement are disposed inscriptions, as follow, beginning at the top.

1. Joh: fil: Wyll; de Sclingesbie et Agnet dña de Northostodleigh heres Will: Fil; Simo: de Stodligh Temp: E. i:
2. Hen: fil: Baldwini Forestarius de Gnaresbrough et Dña Emma heres Hen: fill; Robti de Markinton, temp: H. 3,—
3. Dñi: Joh: fil: Thoms de Walkingham et Agnetis heres Dñi: Alani de Stauelije temp: H: 3,—
4. Tho: de Screnin forestarius de feodo et dña Agnes cohe: dñi Alani de Walkingham Temp: E: i.
5. Will: fil; Will: Caperon de Scotton, et Alicia cohe: Ade de Scotton, Temp: H: 3,
6. Ro: Fil: Simonis de Brereton Dns de eadem et Heleuisia heres Tho: de Sawleij temp; H: 3,—
7. Ri: Fil: Will: Caperone de Scotton et Alicia heres Dñi Roberti de Brereton temp, Ed, i,—

8. Hen: Forestarius de Screuen et Alicia Coher: Richarde Capron de Scotton temp, Ed, 2.

9. Will: de Sclingesbij de Stodeleigh, et Joana, her, Hen: de Screuen Ano ii Ed: 3.

10. Leonard Beckwijth de Sclibij mil: et Elijza: coheres Rog: Cholmelij milit: Capital: Justici: Anglie Ano: 30. H. 8.

11. Ric: fil: Will: de Sclingesby et Joana de Screu: Capitalis for foreste de Knarisbrugh: vt de Materne hereditatis cuius arma etiam assumpsit in primo loco An: 10: H, 6.

In this last inscription there is a manifest mistake of date: the date should be some year of Edward the Third: and the word "jure" is omitted between "de" and "materne."

Below this Atchievement are figures of Adam and Eve, which however did not originally belong to this window but were saved out of the painted glass which perished when the house was pulled down; a garter with the motto of the order; a twoheaded figure with serpents twined round the right arm and in Capitals by its sides, "Estote Prudentes vt Serpentes." Below the whole compartment, in Capitals, "Beati Pacifici," the motto of King James I, in whose reign the chapel was built.

The IIIrd or Southmost light consists also of three parts, the two divisions at top G, H, and the principal light below, I.

G. The Arms of the Universities Oxford and Cambridge, under them respectively, in Capitals "Oxon." "Cantabrig."

H. a cherub's head

I. 1. a figure; beneath in Capitals, "Justitia."

2. a circular yellow pane charged with a wyvern rising out of a Ducal Coronet, ensigned with an Earl's Coronet, Clifford, Earl of Cumberland.

3. Per Pale, Baron, Scriven and Slingsby; Femme, Percy and Lucy.

4. Per pale, Baron, Scriven and Slingsby; Femme, Belasyse.

There is no stained glass in the two other windows of the Chapel on the South side, and the only other memorial is a funeral Atchievement, Quarterly, 1. Scriven. 2. Slingsby. 3. Scriven. 4. Cradock: for an unmarried Baronet.

The following curious entry is in the Parish Register of Moor-Monkton.

"Memorandū. That in the year 1709 The Lady Sarah Slingsby wife of S^{r}. Thomas Slingsby of Skagglethorp Bar:^{nett} begd' leave to have a great Gate hung at her proper charge for her Coach in bad weather to come into the Church yard, which I acquainted the then church warden of More Mounckton, & the neighbours with; & upon her Lady-ships promise that the said Gate, & Stoups, & all things belonging to it should be hung, & for the future always repaired by S^{r}. Thomas & the ffamily of Red-House, the said gate accordingly was hung at the west end of the church yard-hedge on the north side of the church, coming on to a Baulk comonly called the Mucky-Balk in Mounckton churchffield. Witness my hand. Richd. Kay Rector."

Moor-Monkton is on the South bank, and Nun-Monkton on the North Bank, of the Ouse. Bertram in relating to Oswald the fight of Marston Moor, says,

"Monckton and Mitton told the news,
How troops of Roundheads choked the Ouse."

Rokeby, Canto I. St. XIX.

END OF THE DIARY.

A

FATHERS

LEGACY.

Sir *Henry Slingesbys*
INSTRUCTIONS
To his

SONS

Written a little before his Death.

YORK, Printed by *J. Jackson* for T. *Baxter* Book-Seller 1706.

A FATHERS

LEGACY TO HIS SONS.

It is not unknown unto me (my dear Sons) how many persons of quality have bestowed their pens on this *Subject;* wherein I am to address my self out of my *Fatherly* and tender care towards You. The ground of my discourse shall be *Instruction;* whereto, I am confident You will be ready to give the the more serious attention, in regard it proceeds from his mouth, and devotion of his heart; who with a parental and tender affection ever loved You while he was living: and now dying leaves You this *Memorial* as my *last Legacy* for Your future benefit, improvement and direction.

Our last expressions usually retain the deepest impression; especially, being uttered by a tongue whose relation did highly indear us; and whose words are the very last he shall speak upon earth: being within few hours to pay his debt to Nature: and stand at that Barr, and appear before that *High-Court of Justice,* from whence no *Appeal*

will be admitted. But my *Preamble* must not be long, seeing the definite *Sentence* of death hath limitted my time so short.

My beginning shall receive life from *Him*, from whom we all derive our beginning; whom You are above all things to fear; and that with no servile but filial fear; not so much for *fear* of *punishment*, or *hope* of *reward*, as out of pure zeal and cordial love to his sacred Majesty; who will recompence our momentary sufferings with crowns of immortal glory: and cloath our constancy with incorruptible Robes of beauty; but no *combat*, no *conquest*; you are to fight *a good fight*, before your *warfare* become a *triumph*.

And trust me, my dear Sons, such influence has my long imprisonment wrought upon me; nay, such divine operations has his powerful Spirit acted upon my poor soul: as I hold him a weak-hearted Soldier, that faints under the *conduct* of such a Commander; who patiently died for our sins: and victoriously rose for our justification. I must ingeniously confess, that upon my first restraint, my conflict was something difficult; before I attained this Christian *attemperature* and composure to my resolves: I could not for a Season, but friendly converse with *that*, which I now mortally hate. He that consorts with the *Pelican*, cannot chuse but smell of the *Wilderness*.

I begun by help of my solitude and long retirement (a place to me of infinite improvement) to recollect my self, and seriously to meditate how my

too near and familar society with the *world*, (though never deeply drenched in it) was the high way to procure a divorce with God. It was my study therefore to leave it with my affection, before such time as I became enjoyned to leave it by a necessitated dissolution. I considered how the life of a wise man was to return to God; and to hold all things under him as *Secondaries*: Him only the *Primary Good*. This was the Mirror that flattered not.

During my late privacy occasioned by my captivity, store of vacant hours were reserved for me; the expence whereof conduced more highly to my inward benefit and advantage, then all my fore-past liberty. For, before I knew not what it was to wrastle with my self, till restraint (an useful, though unwelcom Messenger) brought me to a due and exact consideration of my self; and the present condition whereto I was reduced. Yet in this my retire and recess from the world, I could not chuse but encounter with some dangerous *Remoraes* to foreslow my passage and proficience.

Assiduate Offices of profest amity, visits of friends with other obliging ties of relation were daily *contriving* new, but affectionate ways, how to call me from myself, and reduce my Thoughts to a more familiar converse with the world: and considerable motives to induce, and effectual enough to operate upon a mere humane fancy, were presented to me:

but none more powerful acting, then my tender reflexion upon your young and unexperienced condition, my dearest children: whom, as it had ever been my constant care to educate in a corresponsive way to your extraction: so it was my desire that my ancient and lineally descended estate, might without incumbrance fall upon you my Elder Son: together with such a competent *conferment* upon your younger Brother, as the conveniency of his Fortunes might disingage him of that servile condition; which too usually the young Gentry of our land, through neglect of timely provision, become liable to, I mean *beholdingness* or dependance on the Elder, The discussion of these, seriously weighed, brought me to *consider*, what I could not forget with honour; how you were those precious pledges wherein I had treasured all my inferior hopes, being next in care to the eternity of my Soul.

In this my Treaty with the world, I bethought me likewise how *your virtuous Sister* whose pure and unblemished fame has conferr'd an high additament to my comfort: and incomparably revived me in this my irrevocable Sentence to the Scaffold; how She, I say, was not to be neglected, how highly tendred: for though she appeared compleatly qualified, and with the choicest ornaments of Nature richly furnished; nay, with Noble Relations sufficiently strengthned yet there is something more required to make a per-

son of Honour, be she never so personally accomplished, a Mistress of great Fortunes.

These were thoughts of a long discourse, and strong debate: neither, were they with less vehemency seconded by such, whose setled and immutable affections (such was their integrious candor and intimacy to me in my greatest extremes) aimed no less in the prudent advice, at the future success and advancement *of* mine then *their* own. And their Bosome-Counsels dispatched it; so as what the *constancy* (or what others termed it, *pertinacy*) of opinion would not assent to, the amicable care of faithful *Trustees* effected. This quieted my thoughts and brought me again to my self.

And I found this calm and well setled composure, a precious princely structure. I found no Billows dispassionately acting to endanger the passage of my late surcharged Vessel: All appeared to me as in a Calm Sea: and as one in a safe harbour, I begun to regal to mind those Divine Contemplations; which my late converse with secular occasions, had so prejudicially estranged from me. I begun to take a more serious view of what I had to my intellectual gain observed, and what I had in my own default neglected; I took my mark as by a Landskip, how the World was a shop of disguises and false faces: And I concluded upon my review of these, summing them up to their utmost period, *How all things were vanity, save only to please God, and to serve him.*

Make this your Anchor-hold, and you may sail safely; You shall manage your affections with that equal and discreet temper, as nothing can be possibly acted by You to disparage you: or lay the least aspersion on Your honour. It is not to be questioned, but the high estimate that men set upon this World, captives their affections: making them heavily leave what they did so heartily love. For what men enjoy with delight, they must necessarily forgoe with grief.

Be continent then in Your desires, and indifferent in your enjoyments, and you shall leave what You did so coolly love without disgust. But this would prove a receit of hard digestion to their stomachs, on whom these inferiour contentments have taken seasure: make devotion then your compleat Armour, to secure You on the Main, and conduct You to a peaceful Harbour. The only way to free you from this servitude, is to bring the world to serve you, and not you it. Being ever observed to be an imperious Mistress, but a submissive Servant.

I shall now take occasion to make my recede from the World (as I find my enjoined hours near approaching) and take a turn or two in the Temple; But fearful be my feet to enter into the Sanctuary with too much confidence: I shall not, though you be mine own, propose to You Rules of *Religion*: I hope your education by the assistance of Gods Spirit hath already initiated and grounded you in those Principles that may not only inform Your Knowledge

how to believe; but for the practive part *too*, what to do that You may eternally live; Yet excuse my fears, I cannot leave You so: though my desires have ever gone along with an humble fervour of being rather an *Hearer*, then a *Teacher:* my tender zeal to your proficience & progress in Christs *Shcool*, will not suffer me to omit any thing that may necessarily *conduce* to Your spiritual inabling in matters of eternity.

Above all things, then my dear Ones be it your especial care to beware of *Novellisme*. It is this, whose pernicious seed has spread so many dangerous Sects, Schismes and Heresies. Nay, the only ruin to the foundation of Religion: having begot so many main breaches and fearful rents in the Church; as it is above the compass of humane wisdom to make up the decays of so disjointed a Fabrick: or how to contrive a *way* for repair of those demolitions: As it is the finger of God that can only effect it, so may his name only have the glory of it.

For You my Sons, may it be Your desire rather, to appear faithful and fervorous Professors, then forward and contentious Disputants.

It has been an inherent property to many of our ancient School-men, either transported with the Spirit of singularity: or from some other discontent arising from their fruitless pursuit after some especial Office or Place of Preferment; to enter the Lists: and become profest Champions for broaching Error and

Sedition; by imbroiling the quiet of the Church, and exposing the long-continued unity which she formerly enjoyed, to those fatal miseries of endless devisions: which broke forth into National quarrels, and such implacable hostility; as the church became a constant Patient. But no hand so inclinable to pity, as to apply to her bleeding wounds a timely *remedy*.

Now, resolve me, did not such Arguments springing from the brains of those ambitious & opinionate Sectaries produce bitter fruits, when their poysonous Doctrine begot such dangerous distractions in many flourishing and eminent States? Lend not your least attention to these: the perverseness of their Spirits usually invert all sence: and the inconformity of their depraved Doctrine will sooner entangle then inform your Judgment.

You have learned better things: relie then on those just and orthodoxal Principles, which retain in them that powerful efficacy, as they will teach You how to believe, and how to live. By which means (for a better rule I cannot prescribe you) Your blameless Conversation shall manifest to the *world* the fruits of your faith.

How fruitlesly bestowed are those empty hours, that are employed with what subtilty of arguments they may *dispute*, but never with what purity they may *live*. Polite Orators, but prophane professors. Such *Sophisters* are but titular Christians. Believe it there ought to be no controversie, but *conference*

among the Servants of Christ. Which being discreetly seasoned with meekness and mildness, beget more converts to Gods honour, then a thousand fiery spirits shall ever do, by speaking in thunder.

I would not willingly be thought to fall short of that Parental zeal which I owe You. Men have nothing to give, but what they receive, and what I have received, I shall here by advice freely communicate unto you.

Subjection to *Superiours* is a precept of high consequence; I shall not insist on each particular; it is too large a field to walk in, and too lofty an aier to descant on: It may suffice, that I am to sacrifice my life in that contest: and without averseness in so *high an interest.*

For you my Sons, be it Your especial care to submit your selves to *your Superiours* in all *lawful things.* It is an *undispensable injunction;* and ought by persons of each distinct *Quality,* when they are *conscientiously* thereto Obliged, to be *religiously* Observed. This might seem to Oppose my Tenent; but I shall make it *perspicuously* appear to any uninteressed judgement, much otherwise.

The *Crime* wherewith I stood charged, was *Treason;* which my Conscience dictated to me, bare the Cognizance of *Loyalty.* To which Principles, as I was nursed in it, so I mean to death to continue a constant *Professor* of it; wherein if any one, as there be many, should *oppose* my *Opinion;* and tax

me first of obstinacy in my refusing to submit to any *Composition;* and since in appealing from the Jurisdiction of that *High Court;* whereto I conceived I could not be in a capacity to be subject, being neither *sworn* nor *known* unto it.

Though I was, as some thought slow in my *Reply* and personal defence at the *Barr;* may it stand with the patience of good Men to hear the modest *Apology* which I here recommend to their perusal after my death: wherein, my Dear Ones, You may return a grateful *Office* to your dying Father, in communicating it to our Relations; or any Persons of Quality that shall hereafter Request it. *Words* spoken in *Season retain precious resemblances;* but I am confident no *Words* could have been spoken by me at my *Arraignment,* that would have been construed seasonable. So *highly* was the *Presidental Court* prepossessed against me.

My defence shall be short, dissecting it self into two particulars.

Motive I.

THE first Relates to a Case of Conscience; which to Oppose even in matters of *Indifferency,* would raise such a tempest in the inward *Region* of the *Soul,* as would not be quickly calmed. I understood, how I could *enjoy* no peace in it by checking it: and that in the careful *composure* of it, rested my quiet: having not only sufficiently learn'd, but

experimentally felt, how there was in it either a *continual Feast* to cheer me; or a *cloud* of *witnesses* to *condemn* me.

I *conceived* then how the *cure* of a *troubled Spirit* was a receipt of high and *precious consequence.* It was my assiduate care therefore to remove all such subtile witnesses from within me, that might at the *High-Court* of Tryals condemn me; as for other *Testates,* they were the least of my Fears: I knew how *Conscience* would prove my individual *Consort;* I held it therefore dangerous to displease it, least I should perish by it. This might seem to be of light weight in a temporizing skale; but it poized more heavily in mine.

My high obligations confirmed by Oath, and bound in, I must confess, with an inviolable tie of Religious *Love,* had so inseperably united my thoughts to the devotion of allegiance; as the serious and constant Observance of it begun to have that influence over me, as in the end it Resolv'd to a Case of Conscience.

Sundry Disputes with sinewy Arguments to decline my opinion were *frequently* entertain'd by me, *during my* several places of imprisonment: but I apprehended all these too weak motives to alter my resolution, or lessen my affection to such an incomparable Object of *Soveraignty.* Upon these premisses I conceive that if I should appeal even to those who are aptest to traduce me or inveigh against that

constancy (mis-construed *contumacy*) which appeared in me, they could not but in skrewing their censures to the highest pin, interpret it otherwise, then an *Error* of *Love*, but no *Love of Error:* being so integriously *grounded;* as it admitted no alloy or mixture with By-respects or self interests; which is become such an Epidemical Disease, as it has got generally an influence over the whole World.

But to return to You, my dear Sons, to whom and for whose benefit these my *last directions* are addressed; Be it your care in the free enjoyment of a private condition: or in what quality soever it shall please the Almighty One to Rank You; to mould your Spirits to that temper, as Your discreet carriage may free You from publick censure, Many eyes and many ears require *cautious* and preventive *Thoughts*. The only way to be secure, is not to be active in the affairs of State.

As for those who make it their practice to be *Fishers* in *troubled waters*; it were very strange for them who practise that Trade long, to gain by the purchase. *Privacy*, as it is the only recluse of safety; if Your Hours in it be not well *imployed*, it may become as dangerous as a place of Agency. Caves may be as *proper* for designes as Theaters for *Action*. It is the mind that makes the undertaker free, whether he be residentiary in a *Wilderness* or in the *World*.

Be it Your care, to reserve a sickle for your own

harvest. He cannot chuse but lay himself open to many dangers, who desires to have an Oar in every Boat: or *too Officiously* to engage his *Person* in others Concerns. Make Your *Thoughts your own* and loyal desires cannot redound to your prejudice. It is want of secrecy, and too much credulity that makes *many Freeborn Subjects*, Bondmen by forfeiture of their *Liberty*: and by their profuse tongues subject their heads under others girdles.

I have been conscious herein my self, which moves me to be more intentive to this Caution; the neglect whereof has brought so many mens estates & lives to ruine. For the *Liberty* of a *Subject*, as I hold it to be a *brave* but *rare* Interest; so I should account him, if it were my fortune to live with him, unworthy the title of so eminent a priviledge, who will not stick to engage that *Liberty* to the ear of a stranger.

But let me not forget my self by insisting too amply on these Observances: I shall now *descend* unto the *second Motive*, which not only induced but confirmed me in my *Resolution to Loyalty*.

Motive II.

It has been my fortune to hear *sundry persons* as well Spiritual as Secular to enlarge themselves by way of Argument upon this Subject: and some of these, to my knowledge, men of singular abilities: and in all the *Progress* of their Disputes touching Legal and Lineal *Soveraigntie*, they *positively* con-

cluded for me; though the arguments of *Paræus, Zuinglius, Buchanan,* with sundrie other Anti-Monarchical Authors were frequently and with much vehemencie alledged, pressed, and pursued: so as, even those who were of the adverse Partie, pretending themselves convinced with soliditie of Argument, and strength of *Reason,* seemed wholly satisfied with those *rational Assertions:* though indeed their plausable pretences proved to my self and others colourable disguises, meerly to catch and circumvent us; being afterwards, to expedite our dispatch, *produced* for evidence against us.

But *look* not upon these Agents with a vindicative eye, as You tender my commands. Your Father has forgiven them, do you the like; He retains a slight memorie of his patience and *dolorous Passion,* who forgave his own death: that cannot in the *recollection* of his own *unworthiness,* pass by all indignities; nay, who with much *composedness* has not learned to smile upon the affronts and injuries he shall *occasionally* suffer in this life.

I must confess, the first Onset or Encounter, before I became well *Schooled* in the discipline *of* suffering, presented to my frailtie sundrie inseparable difficulties: But *custome* and continuance has sweetned those disgusts; finding them, if seasonably applied, and temporately digested, the soverainest Receipts that the constitution of man can partake: by submitting his will to his command, *whose inscrutable*

wisdom far above the pitch of all humane apprehension, *declares* his infinitie by sweetning those sufferings, which an indulgent or innate love to our selves had so much imbittered.

We cannot share in a *Crown*, if we have no part in the *Cross*. And blessed be his Name that has armed my weakness with this Resolution: preparing in me a mind no less ready to bear, then Justice was to inflict: my actions by Gods assistance shall in this *approching* hour of my suffering express it: though I shall appear slow in the elegancy or flourish of *Words* (for I never profest my self an *Orator*:) neither, indeed, should I hold such a dress suitable to any one going to his Death.

But to pass from these; it behoves me to look upon You so long as it is permitted me to live with You; my tender zeal therefore of your future welfare enjoines me to Recommend one particular to *your care*; which infinitely concerns You: and that is Your Choice of *Company*. *Good Acquaintance* will improve both your knowledge and demean: by *your Conversing* with these, You shall *every Day* get by heart some new lesson, that may season and accommodate You Whereas our debauched Gallantry (the greatest *Impostor* of youth) would by their society quickly deprave You.

Now to apply a *Remedy* to so dangerous and infectious a *Malady*, be tender of Your *Honour*; beware with whom You Consort: Be known to many,

but familiar with few. Wherein, above all things, make use of this Directory: It will prove highly useful to you in these relations of *Society.* It was the observation of a *Divine Moral;* and well deserves the attention of the pregnantest & pudentest apprehension. Make ever *choice* of such for your companions of whom You retain this grounded Opinion, that you have either hope to improve them, or be improved by them.

The one, as they argue a fairer, docile and pliable disposition: So the other being indued with parts, may by degrees bring their attentive *Consorts* to an higher pitch of knowledge and moral perfection.

And great pity it is, that our *Youth*, even in the eminentst Extractions, should make so light an estimate of time; as to *hold* no *Consorts* fitter for their Concerns nor corresponding with their Tempers, then such who only study a fruitless expence of time: making no other account of Hours, then Harbingers of pleasure; and as airy Lures to attract their light & liquorish appetites to prohibited delights. Be tender then, as You wish success in the *World*, or the continuance of my Blessing, of the *Honour* of the *House* from whence you came; and *your own Reputation*; the preservation whereof shall make you live in me *now dying:* and raise You an honest Fame in mine Ashes.

Fame is such a precious Odour, as neither those who are in the highest Rank can impair it without an

impeachment to their *Honour:* so neither those of a *lower Condition* can justly nor conscientiously tender it, but it will send forth a fragrant breath upon the *preserver.* Houses are but weak material structures-subject to breaches and decayes; unless repaired and *supported* by the general approvement and repute of their *Enjoyers.*

I could challenge from many descents, but my thoughts have ever been estranged from titular arrogance: holding only *Fame* to be the strongest continuer of a *Family:* being born up with such an impregnable Arch, as it needed no groundling Butteresses to preserve it: *nor any Secondaries* to prevent an untimely ruin.

It has been my fortune to make experience of a pretensive *stay,* which proved so unsteady; that if I should live many Years (as now my short life is measured forth to a few hours) it would make me henceforth to remember that cautionary advice: Let not the Titles of *consanguinity* nor *affinity* betray any man into a prejudicial trust.

Whence it was that I Observe some *Persons,* no sooner advanced to places of unexpected greatness, then they put on the severe countenance of Justice, pretending to imitate the example *of Titus Manlius,* who in a case of Justice gave sentence against his own Son. But I found those to be only formalities; or politick semblances: they would not disoblige themselves for their friends security.

These differed far from *Themistocles* Opinion, amicable candor & resolution; who being requested to bear himself indifferently in his censure: and even to his own, to put on the face of *Rigour*, answered; Be it far from me not to pleasure my friends in all things.

As for my addresses, they were so qualified in their relation to Obedience, as they stooped not to any ones application nor assistance.

Now *Tom*, as You are the immediate hope of my *House*: so be it your care to entertain no thought below your self. Your course has been hitherto approveable: enabled by generous education abroad: and imitable examples at home: those to adorn; these to compleat.

Being thus grounded, set your self to those tasks that may usefully improve You; and by degrees accomplish You. In private and retired hours consult with the *dead*; being the best means to make Men wise: make devout *Books* Your discreet Consorts: *they* will tell you what You are to do without fear of censure. These will beget in You a contempt of that (the *World* I mean) which detracts most from the excellency of man.

Seneca wisht for *Philosophy*, whereto he was entirely dedicated; that as the face of the Universal *World* comes into view, so that *Philosophical Idæa* might be presented to us as a spectacle most unlike unto the *World*. I am confident, *Tom*, it is the

lowest of Your Scorn to suffer Your Thoughts to be depressed with *inferior Objects*. Continue that Resolution; it will arm You against all Occurrents.

In the carriage of publick affairs, my advice is that you appear cautious; Many by putting themselves upon numerous imploiments have lost themselves: though in neighbourly Offices to be modestly active, manifests signal Arguments of *Piety*. But in all concerns appear just. This will beget You a *good report* among men; and acceptance before the *Throne* of Grace. All justice is comprehended in this *Word Innocence*, all injustice reprehended.

And if it were just to pronounce such a *Sentence* upon loyal *Innocence*, I appeal to above. The practice of this Divine Office will render you blameless in all: by measuring your self by others; others by your self; and in doing unto others, as you would have done unto your self: And to sum up your directions in brief, that they *may* be more impressive in Your *Memory:* Express your self moderate in arguments of dispute, close in Your Counsels, and discreet in Your Discourse.

As for your hours of recreation, let them never so overtake You, as to make your thoughts strangers in what most concerns You. And make choice of suitable Consorts in these. For though Precepts induce, Examples draw: and more danger there is in a personal Example, then any *Doctrinal Motive:* whence it is very observable, that those whom we intimately

affect, have such attractive influence *over* us: as whether it be in the pursuit of pleasure or profit, we suffer ourselves to be drawn thereto by *their choice* without much examination of the probability of the issue, whereto their assayes are directed. All men are taught to *eschew evil,* and to *do good:* and there are *innate seeds* in every *Pious Disposition* moving him to the observance of that *Direction:* But the nature of things is such, that where a *good man* is joined with a bad, the bad is not bettered by the *good,* but the *good* corrupted by the bad. We may then truly conclude that this *world* is a dangerous *Pest-house:* and if men out of a natural desire of conserving their health, and of avoiding what may indanger it, would be loath to enter into an house that is infected: much more are they to incline all Occasional ways of infecting their *inward House,* much more precious because partaker of immortality.

But I am hopeful that the influence of *Gods Grace* seconded with your constant & intire *Devotion,* will sufficiently strengthen You against all such humane frailties, which either the proneness of nature, or the corruption of these times may suggest. The *Lord* prepare you to entertain all Occurrents, with patience & cheerfulness.

To *your Superiours* lawfully set over You, present your self in due Obedience; and in all *your Actions* acquit your self (for herein consists the hope and ac-

complishment of *your felicity*) a faithful instrument of *Gods Glory*.

Now one *Word* to You *Harry*, who though younger by *course* of nature, has been ever dear and near my heart since thine infancy. Thine innocence has here for a season been a sufferer with thy Father: but let it not grieve thee to partake with him who doth so truly tender thee: and whose Parental hopes have been ever highly treasured in thee. Neither can I conceit otherwise (having had such experience of thy natural towardness but thou rejoycest in thy suffering upon such an *Occasion*, and with so dear a Friend.

But I hope it will not hold consistent with the prudence nor Justice of this State, that a Fathers guilt should by way of punishment descend in a generation. I shall sacrifice my life freely, as one, subject to an *assumed Authority*: be it their *goodness* to spare innocence: though I should in my *loyal Thoughts* hold such a Present a precious Pledge in Relation to a Just *Soveraignty*, and a Subjects duty. But I hope my blood may sufficiently expiate the grandeur of my crime, if it were greater, without farther revenge.

The Fortunes left You by the assistance of our friendly Trustees (for I have been long time a stranger to mine own) may by Gods providence appear competent for a *Younger Brother*: Sure I am, it is all I can do for You. Be it Your Care by

honest ways to improve them; at least to preserve them; which is *good Husbandry* in these days. In a *Word*, if Your Estate be not sufficient for You; be sufficient for Your Estate. This was the advice of a wise Statist, Observe it.

Return my blessing to Your Sister my dear *Bab:* and tell her from a dying Father, that she needs no other example then her vertuous Mother for her *Directory:* in whose steps, I am confident, she will walk religiously. Her modest and blameless demean can promise nothing less.

And now *my dear Ones*, as my desire is that you should in this *last Legacy of my Love* and parental duty remember me; so my Request is that neither You nor any of my Relations suffer that *memory* they *Retain* of me to be accompanied with immoderate grief. After a troublesome voyage encountred with many cross Winds and adverse *Billows*, I am now arriving in a safe *Harbour:* and I hope without touch of *Dishonour*.

As for Death, though it appear terrible to all flesh; I have long expected it, and by a *conscientious Consequence* prepared me for it. And to make it more familiar to me; before I was call'd up to this City, I made my *Coffin* my *Companion:* that I might with more Resolution look Death in the face, whensoever it should assault me. An Hatchet to a weak spirit may present more fear: but a Fever to a Patient more Pain.

My peace I hope is made with God: having in those solitary hours of my retirement made this my constant ejaculation: O, how can we chuse but begin to love him whom we have Offended? or how should we but begin to grieve that we have Offended him whom we love? This was the solace of my choice: which through *Gods Goodness* shall admit no change and with this will I end, drawing now towards my End.

A Receipt of Continual Use and Application.

"My *Heart* is signed with the signet of *Gods* "*Love*;

"My *Hatred* is only bent against sin and my "self;

"My *Joy* in God *my Saviour*;

"My *Grief* that I am not all his;

"My *Fear*, even in this short *remainder*, is to "offend him;

"And my *Hope* is to enjoy him.

Devotionall Addresses, after his Sentence of Death.

DEATHS Doom to *sensual Ears* sad tidings brings
For death's the King of fears, and fear of Kings.
But to a *Mind resign'd*, a welcome Guest,
And only *Convoy* to the Port of Rest;
A freer from *Restraint*, wherein I long,
Estrang'd from *Earths content*, sung *Sions Song*.

BEING now to put off my Garment of *Mortality*, in assured hope to exchange it with the white Robe of *immortal Glory*.

In this my farewel to Earth, it is my fervorous desire to *bequeath* these my *last Addresses* to You, the *dearest Pledges* I had upon earth.

Draw near me, and hear those last *Words* which I must ever on earth speak to You, Sure I am, that the dying *Words* of an affectionate Father, cannot but fasten deeper, and retain a *Memory* longer, then the speech of the movingst *Orator*:

Fear God above all things; it is the *beginning of Wisdom*: and will enrich You above Your Portion. You are now in the *ripening progress* of your Time:

and entring the *first Lists* of your Youth, wherein you are here *surrounded* with numerous *temporary* tryals; let *good Company* seconded with the exercise of piety season You: so shall his blessing, who hath blessed me with *constancy* in suffering, *Crown you.*

Be honest in *your Ways*; spare in *your Words;* plenteous in good works. Proportions God hath given You, portions by Gods providence (though lessened by these occasional Overtures) I have left you; enrich these with the best portion, the Ornament of Vertue.

Specious Features are not to be valued to the precious embellishment of that *inward beauty,* which accomplisheth a Divine *Soul.*

Be what You seem to be; and seem what You ought to be: I never loved that countenance, which could promise much, and perform nothing. Reality is the only *Cognizance* of a *good Conscience.*

Ever Reflect on him that made you: and make *Devotion* your constant *Diary* to conduct you.

Be tender of those you Rank with; either to better them, or to be bettered by them. Dead Flies corrupt the preciousest Ointments.

Be humble to all; *Humility* is the way to *Glory:* this it is will make you amiable to the Creature; *Glorious* in the sight of *your Creator.*

Learn how to Obey, that You may know better how to Command.

In the *Consideration* of humane *felicity*, there is *nothing* becomes more incurable, then what is habituate: when custome of sin takes away all sense of sin. Old sores Require long cures.

Reserve Divine thoughts for sanctified *Rooms*: In *holy places* is the Devil ever busiest.

No disease more dangerous then the *Lethargy* of sin. This sleep brings ever an heavy awake: For though like a tender Nurse, she sings a sweet Lullabee to her deluded child, it is ever in worst case, the more it sleeps; for it dies in sins-slumber, and perisheth untimely by the blandishment of her Mother.

Consider this, my dearest Ones. *Resist the Devil, and he will fly from you:* Suffer not the first motions of sin to seize on You. *Pray continually*, because You have an enemy assailing you incessantly: the Combat is short, *your Crown Eternal.*

In the *Heat* of the *Day*, think of the *Evening:* The *earnest-penny* will *recompence* your pains: Continue to the end, and your Reward shall be endless.

Be not too curious in enquiring what You are to receive after this Life; but so labour that you may receive your Reward of glory after this Life. Many, by too curious an Itching after what they were to receive, have deceived themselves, by loving their Reward more then God.

Let nothing on earth take *your hearts*; Let the

Divine Love only possess them, so shall You find quietness in them.

That heart cannot want, that possesseth God. He will be a light to direct it, that it stray not. A *comfort* to refresh it, that it fail not. For all earthly helps, they must either leave us, or we them: wherein it falleth oftentimes forth, that we are most afflicted even in those, wherein we expected most *Comfort.*

It is one thing to live on Earth, another thing to love Earth. To be in the *World* and of the *World* are different *Conditions*, *Tabernacles* are not to be accounted *Habitations.* While we are sojourning, we must be journeying towards *Canaan:* nor may we rest till we get home.

O my tender Ones (for never were Children more dear to a Father) make every day of your life a promising passage to Your Native Country. As every day brings You nearer *your grave* may every Day increase in You the richness of his *grace.*

Let the *Joys* of Heaven and the *Torments* of Hell be familiar with You; by meditating of the *Felicity* of the One, and *Infelicity* of the Other; these to deter, those to allure.

Be not too much taken with *Fashion;* it is the Disease of this Age: Comliness is the most taking dress to a discreet eye; whatsoever is else, *borders* on sin, and becomes *Reputations* stain.

I am not now very Old, when this *Judicial Sentence* has enjoined me to leave you, yet never

did that *spreading vanity* of the Time much surprise me.

For my part, I did ever rather affect not to be known at all, then to be known for Singular. It is a poor accomplishment that takes her essence from what we wear. The Rinde makes not the Tree precious, but the Fruit.

Neither speak I this to excuse my frailties. I confess my diversions have been many; but through *my Hearty* Conversion and unfeigned Contrition, by the merits of *my Saviour*, I hope, my peace is made.

Now to continue my *final Bequest*, My desire is, that you would be circumspect in *your discourse*: Though no *Society* can subsist without *Speech*, Yet were it very necessary to be cautious of the *Society* to whom we direct our Speech. I may experimentally speak it, having so highly suffered by it. Few or none have ever been hurt by silence; but many, too many by too prodigal speech have engaged their freedom to the power of their Foes: varnished over with the specious presences of Friends.

Let your whole *Life* be a *Line* of *Direction* to your selves; and of *instruction* to others.

Be more ready to *hear* then to teach; and above all things, let *your Fame* be a living Doctrine to *your Family*.

Be dilligent in the *vocation* or *imployment* You are called unto: and be ever doing some *good Work*: that the devil may never find *you* unemployed:

for our *Security* is his *Opportunity*, to prevent his sleights give no way to sloth.

When you come into any *Holy place*, call him to mind, to whom it is dedicated: *hold* your selves then as retired from the *World*: and lift up *your Hearts* to Him, who is your Hope and Help, both here and in a better *World*.

Esteem of all men well; and of your selves the worst.

Suffer with others, when you shall hear them *defamed*: and preserve their Report as well as you may. For it is not sufficient to be tender of our own, and impeach others: but to tender others as our own.

Stand always in an humble and Religious fear.

Be not ashamed to confess what you were not ashamed to commit.

If at any time, *through frailty*, You fail; with tears of unfeigned contrition Redeem Your Fall.

Walk with an undefiled Conscience; knowing that *you* are in his presence, whose *eyes* are so pure, as they cannot abide *iniquity*; and *whose* Judgment so clear, as it will search out *Hypocrisie*.

Keep your bodies undefiled; Temples should be pure and unpolluted.

If your desire be to honour *your Maker*, You must make *your heart* his Harbor.

Every Country hath one chief *City*; and that situate in the *Heart* of the Land, and becomes the

Kings Seat. Your heart shall be the *City* of the King of Kings, so you guard the gates of your *little City*, that no sinful intruder nor usurping designer enter nor surprize them; no corrupt affection win in upon them.

Now the better to secure your State; Let your eyes your City-Centinels, be so directed, that they become not distracted: by wandring abroad, they beget disorder at home.

All neighbourly Offices I commend unto You; they gain love, which is the *Oyl* of our life. But too much familiarity I do not admit; *Charity* is expedient to all *Familiarity* to few,

Cherish *Affability*, there is nothing that purchaseth more love with less cost.

Friendship is properly term'd the *Fruit* of *virtue;* without which ground it becomes an unripe fruit, and loseth its kernel.

Prefer *restraint* of the *Body* before that of the *Mind:* there can be no true freedom, so long as the Soul is liable to thraldom.

I have been known to *sundry Holds*; Yet I found my infranchised mind, when I was most estranged from enjoyment of *Liberty*, to be the freest injoyer of it self.

Hold nothing comparable to the estimate of a clear Conscience; a *continual Feast* admits no competition with a *Cloud* of impeaching Witnesses. This hath been my Anchor-hold to secure my Vessel.

The terrors of Death are but Objects to the eye; with a *momentary* sense of a little pain to the *Body;* whereas If the Soul through the gusts of a Restless Conscience, grapple with *death;* and gives up her hold, her sufferings are to *eternity.* A short storm should not discourage us, when we are within the kenn of our *Harbour.*

Prosperity is a fair gail; but the *Memory* of it rather afflicts then refresheth us; when our *security* has *thrown* us upon a shelf, before we come a-shore.

If earthly enjoyments had seiz'd on me; *my death* might have prov'd more Natural, but through those *Preparations* wherewith Gods *Goodness* hath furnished me, perchance not so welcom.

I am now to put off that which troubled me most; to become cloathed with his *righteousness,* whose All-sufficiency has pleaded my cause.

In my Period to these; and to Order *your Course* the better in the Current and *Progression* of your affairs: Let not the Sun shine upon You, before you have commended your selves to that *Son of Righteousness,* to direct You in all your ways; and inrich You with all *good Works.*

To conclude, (for I feel my failing faculties, through continuance of my long restraint, and late necessary addresses, drawing near their *Conclusion;*) Let your *Youth* be so seasoned with all *Goodness,* that in your *riper age,* You may retain an habit of that which *your Youth* practised.

Well-spent Minutes are precious treasures; whose reviving *Memory* in our *Recollection* of what we gathered by them, will refresh your fainting Souls in their sharpest gusts of humane frailty.

To speak of *Marriage* to You, I will not; only this let a religious fear accompany those acquiescences; wherein I Conceive a parity in descent, a *Competency* of Fortune, but principally our *Harmony* in a religious *profession* may conduce highly to your future Comfort: and remove those *Occasional* discontents, which a failing in any of these too usually procures: which completed, may *your Choice* thus equally tempered with discretion and affection admit no change: so shall a pious emulation in your succeeding Relations second Your Choice.

Prefer *your Fame* before all *Fortunes:* it is that sweet Odour which will perfume You Living, and embalm You dying.

I find myself now, through the Apprehension of my approaching Summons, which I shall entertain with a cheerful admittance, breathing homeward: the eye of my body is fixt on You; the eye of my Soul on Heaven; Think on me as your Natural Father: and of Earth as your Common Mother. Thither am I going, where by course of Nature, though not in the same manner, you must follow.

I am to act my last Scene on a Stage; You in a turbulent State.

Value Earth as it is; that when You shall pass

from Earth, You may enjoy what Earth cannot afford You; to which happiness your dying *Father*, hastning to his dear Spouse and your Virtuous *Mother*, faithfully commends You.

Additional Instructions privately delivered before his coming to Tower-Hill.

DEAR Sons, as You were tender to me, Remember these Funeral Advertisements of your adjudged Father. The serious Observance whereof I shall account my *Ceremonial Obsequies.*

Be *zealous* in your service of *God;* ever recommending in the prime hour of the day, all your ensuing actions designed and addressed for that day, to his *gracious protection.*

Be constant in *your Resolves*, ever grounded on a *religious Fear* that they may be seconded by *Gods favour.*

Be serious in your studies: and with all *Humility* crave the assistance of others, for your better *proficiency.*

Be affable to all, familiar with few.

Be to such constant *Consorts*, where you have hope to be daily proficients.

Be provident and discreetly frugal in *your expence:* never spending where honest *Providence* bid You spare: neither sparing where Reputation invites You to spend.

Continue firm in *brotherly Unity:* as you are near in blood, be dear in your affection.

Honour those, to whose charge you are intrusted.

And sweet Jesu, with thy grace enrich them, to thy *Glory*, their *Relations* comfort.

His Letter to a Person of Quality, and his late Fellow-Prisoner.

Sir;

To render you an *account* of my present condition since my remove to this *City:* and return a grateful satisfaction to *your expectance* in all such concerns or occurrences as have encountred me since my commitment to the *Tower*; in Relation to your desires and expressions by Letter; for which, I hold my self highly Obliged to your indeerment and noble resentment in my sufferings: I shall acquaint You briefly, (for no long time must be now permitted me,) in these *my last lines:* as the definite Sentence of Death pronounced upon me, has sufficiently assur'd me.

Some short time after my commitment, Mr. *Mordant*, Dr. *Hewit*, and my *self* were *Ordered* to appear before the *High-Court of Justice* at *Westminster:* where we *stood* indicted *of High Treason:* and where Mr. *Mordant* by his discreet *carriage*, and *singular preparation*, seconded with the fair acquiescence of the *President*, after a long and anxious examination of his Cause, became acquitted. Doctor *Hewit* denying the *jurisdiction* of that *Court;* after he had alledged sundry Arguments and Reasons to strengthen his *appeal*, and evince the illegality of their proceedings (having *debarr'd* himself of the benefit which he might probably have obtained, as some verily thought, by submitting to a trial) received the sentence of Death. Which, I can ingeniously assure you, Sir, he received with much constancy, resolution and composure.

Though it has been reported since the time of his impeachment, that upon maturer advice of such as by a more peculiar *relation* had an influence over him, he could have been contented to submit to a trial: and that petitions were presented to that purpose, but through some *titular* defect or other, he might not be admitted to that favour. Howsoever, I am very confident, that this *Gentleman* was so consciencibus in all his actions: and so confirm'd in his *profest zeal*, as he would entertain nothing below himself. High and of weighty consequence were the Articles that were drawn up against me: and these

laid to my charge with much vehemency. *Especially* my conference with some persons at *Hull;* which I conceived (as I then told them) to be rather a secular discourse; and such sociable chat, as it might be in any equal Judgment, *held sooner for a jest,* then a design of State. Whereto the *Attourney* was pleased to make answer *facetiously* according to his usual manner, and with much punctuality: That he never *heard* in all his time, that *treason* was held a *jest.* And then with a *supercilious smile* turning himself towards me: Sir *Harry,* said he, *you* have jested your self fairly out of *your Fame, Estate,* and now according to the merit of Your Cause very like to jest your self into a grave to your lasting dishonour.

I insisted not much upon defence nor vindication of mine innocence; for I *understood* it was effectless. Those Persons who were my accusers, were for time, place, and every circumstance, such convincing evidence, (besides their personal prevalency in the eye of that Court) as my reply in what tenor soever would have prov'd fruitless: and either not heard at all, or expounded to my disadvantage: The only *Guard,* then, that I stood upon, was *Silence* and *Patience.*

Though as the case stood in my particular, I could not hold those *Persons* my competible Accusers: nor well deserving *estimation in that high Court;* being such, as their compliance (had not *probable hopes* or preferment diverted them) could have

conscienciously closed with my Principles: but the *fears* of *danger*, and the hopes of *honour*; were in the *first* such *determents*; and in the *latter*, such inducements; as they begot in them an indifferency in the one: and a resolution for the other.

I would not willingly give you a trouble, as I shall not to the World long. The Court, upon the evidence given, adjudged me to die: but by Petition and the *Protectors* clemency: not in that dishonourable manner, as we were sentenced. So as my resolved Soul, now in the merits of Christ, is winging her flight for Heaven.

My *preparation* becomes freer from distraction, by the gentile demean and civilities of our *Lieutenant:* and by his command, of the Soldiers modest carriage towards us, in our private devotions, and other holy Duties. Which *pious Office*, as it conduceth much to our peace, so it cannot but redound highly to the *Commanders* honour. Compassion in places of Command, where Authority may be executed without controul, deserves, for the *rarity* of it, an eminent Attribute.

Dear Sir, He begs at your hands the assistance of *your Prayers*, who, as in his Life, so now at his Death, in the reallest Offices of Love, remains.

Your most Affectionate
Servant.

June 4.
1658.

H. S.

Funerals are for the Dead: Memorials for the Living. Solemnity of the one, cannot parallel the Memory of the other. The one limits to time, the other to Eternity.

HIS EPITAPH.

Dead unto Earth, *before I past from thence.*
Dead unto Life, *alive to conscience.*
Just, and by Justice doom'd; impeached by those
Whom Semblance *writ my* Friends, *their witness Foes*
My Silence *in Reply impli'd no guilt,*
Words not believ'd resemble Water *spilt.*
Upon the parched surface of the floor,
No sooner dropt, then heat dries up the showre.
To plead for life where ears are prepossest,
Sounds but like airy Eccho's *at the best.*
The Hatchet *acted what the Court decreed,*
Who would not for his HEAD, lay down his Head?
Branches *have their* dependance *on the* Vine.
And Subjects *on their* Princes, *so had mine.*

The Native Vine *cut down, her* Cyenes *wither,*
Let them then grow *or* perish *both together,*
Thus liv'd I, thus I dy'd; my Faith *the wing,*
That mounts my Kingly zeal *to th'* Highest King,

His Corpse at the Intercession of his Friends was permitted by the Usurper to be privately Carried down into *York-shire;* there to be Interr'd in the Burial place of his Ancestors: which was done with all decent Solemnity.

His Tomb Stone, is of black.Marble removed from St. *Roberts* Chappel in *Knaresbrough* belonging to the Family with the following Inscription.*

SANCTI ROBERTI

Huc Saxum advertum est sub eodemq; nunc Jacet hic Henricus Slingesby Henrici *filius Cui e Parliamento Ejecto & ex plebiscito bonis omnibus exuto nihil aliud supererat.*

Quam ut vellet Animam suam salvam esse passus est Anno Etatis *suæ lvij. Sexto Idus Junias, Annoq; Christi* 1658.

Fidei in Regem Legesque patrias Causa: Non perjit, sed ad Meliores Sedes translatus est a TYRANNO CROMWELLIO *Capite Mulctatus; posuit* Thomas Slingesby Baronetus *Non Degener Nepos.*

Anno Æræ Christi 1663.

FINIS.

* The Inscription is here printed exactly as it stands in the original edition: there are a few mistakes, in spelling and stopping, which the reader will easily correct for himself. The last date is wrong; it should be 1693 instead of 1663. The copy here given is, with these exceptions, perfectly correct.

CORRESPONDENCE AND PAPERS.

I.

Return of the State of the Castle of Knaresborough 1561.

THIS Bill indented bearing date the viijth day of August in the third yeare of o^{r} Souaigne Lady Elizabeth by the Grace of God of England ffrance and Ireland &c. Witnesseth that the day of the date hereof upon the Survey taken at Knarsbrough in the countie of York there remained in the Castle there as is beneath contained, the same being in the custodie of Peter Slingesbie Gent Porter and keeper thereof who doth hereby undertake to answer the sam. Inprimis at y^{e} entery into the House is a Bridge of tymber in good repayre and at the end of the same two great gates wth a locke and key and two boults, wth hinges and a haspe of yron before w^{ch} is a Parcullice well shodd wth yron. Over the entery into the Castle is a chamber of xlv foote long and xv broad hauing a chimney the couering thereof of slate and timber w^{ch} are in decay, there is neither yron Glasse doores nor locks the gutters are well leaded. Out of the same chamber leadeth an entery into

another Chamber contaning in length xv foote in breadth x haueing a chimney, there is neither yron Glasse doores nor locks. Out the same Lodginge is one other Lodginge of tymber containing in length xxi foote and in breadth xv w^th^ a chimney the same hath neither yron doores Glasse nor locks the tymber thereof in good repaire the slate wherew^th^ it is covered in some decay neare to y^e^ same nether lodging is a chappell all of Stone containing xij foote square y^e^ one of the windows well yroned the other hath none the roofe thereof is of timber covered with lead in good repayre the chappell hath one doore w^th^ two henges, Aiyning thereto is a little house, where y^e^ records of y^e^ Castle lye w^th^ one window the same is well covered over w^th^ lead it hath one doore two hinges two lockes & two keyes whereof one remaineth in y^e^ custody of the deputie Steward y^e^ other in the custody of y^e^ clarke of y^e^ Courts.

There is also one other lodginge con^t^ in length xv foote in breadth xij haueing a chimney the same is covered oũ w^th^ timber & slate w^ch^ are in great ruyne & decay it hath neither yron Glasse doores nor locks under y^e^ same lodging is y^e^ Porter lodge con^t^ in breadth ix foote in length xviij hauing a chimney a window w^th^ yron y^e^ vault is of Stone in y^e^ same is a payre of Stocks It hath one doore two hinges one locke w^th^ a keye neare vnto adioyning is one lodging called y^e^ Kings tower vnder w^ch^ is a dungeon hauinge two doores w^th^ henges & two haspes w^th^ two payre of

Stockes, aboue y^e^ same is two prisons whereof the one hath a window double yroned they haue both two doores w^th^ one locke two haspes they are both vaulted wth Stone.

Ouer y^e^ dungeon betweene the two prisons is one very faire vault w^th^ a Chimney con^t^ in length xxx^ti^ foote in breadth xxiiij haueing two windowes well yroned & one of them glassed there is in the same one Bedstead of waynscott corded two tables w^th^ trusses formes and one livery cupboard two windows of wood w^th^ hinges of iron y^e^ wicket of y^e^ doore of y^e^ same vault hauing two henges two boults two haspes and one lock w^th^ a keye wthin the same vault y^e^ Audito^r^ is wont to keepe his Audit there is wthin y^e^ same vault three doors whereof two of them doe lead to two little cabens y^e^ third to Butterie w^th^ two lockes, there is wthin the same Butterie one forme a Bedstead two shelves and a Portall of Waynscot.

Ouer the same vault is y^e^ Hall w^ch^ con^t^ in length xxxiij foote in breadth xxiiij w^th^ a chimney two windowes whereof one is very well yroned the roofe of tymber, in the same one table w^th^ a forme and a barr of wood wthin y^e^ w^ch^ the courtes be kept the same hath two doores w^th^ hinges oū y^e^ Hall īs one great chamber of like content having a chimney and one door w^th^ two hinges in y^e^ windowes is neither yron nor Glasse the roofe is of timber & covered w^th^ leade w^ch^ needeth some repaire one pice of the same leade on the south side about a yard and a halfe is taken

away the stone and timber of all the said tower is in good repayre at y^e^ entery into the said tower is a portch vaulted w^th^ stone w^th^ two doores and two henges adjoining unto y^e^ same tower is the ketching containing in length xxx foote in breadth xxvj having two chimneys three windowes w^th^ henges three dressers one doore w^th^ two henges wthin the same is one Larder cont in length xxxj foote in breadth xxj there is in the same a trough of lead and a cupbord of wood y^e^ window w^th^ two henges y^e^ doore w^th^ two henges and a locke, ouer y^e^ Larder is a chamber of like content whereof y^e^ timber is good coũed with slate w^ch^ is much in decay hard by y^e^ same is a stare of wood cont xxv steppes leading unto being latly made.

Before y^e^ ketching is a well w^th^ a frame of wood lately made, neare y^e^ same is a litle Backhouse covered w^th^ slate having a doore w^th^ two henges, It contayneth square xij foote oũ the Kitching and Larder is a gutter of Leade The Receiv^rs^ lodging abutting on the East being made w^th^ timber and covered w^th^ slate having two chimneys and some of y^e^ windowes glassed wthout any yron saving foure doores w^th^ lõckes and keyes and two w^th^ henges con^t^ in apparance threescore foote in length in Breadth xv the gutters of the same are Leaded and the slate of the same house had need of repaire on the Eastende of y^e^ enterie of the castle is one Stable builded of timber & covered w^th^ slate wherein is roome for

xxiiij horses wthin the same is two chambers for horsebooys hauing three doores wth one lock & foure hinges the same stable is in good repaire having three doores wth ix hinges one lock & one haspe Within y^{e} p^{r}cinct of y^{e} ring wall of y^{e} Castle are two courts the stone worke of the same ring being in good repaire In witnesse whereof the right hono^{rble} S^{r} Ambrose Caue Knight Canncellor of y^{e} Duchie of Lancaster hath put to his hand to these p^{r}sents the day and yeare above said remayning in y^{e} custody of y^{e} said Peter Slingesbie aforesaid.

vera copia

Ab Caue

II.

[*Sir*] *William Slingsby* [*of Kippax*] *to* [*Sir*] *Henry, addressed,*

To the right woorshipll my verye lovinge brother M^{r}. Henrye Slingisbye Esq^{e}. at Sorevin in Yorkeshire these.
Delyver this to M^{r}. Willm Beecher in London to be sent with all possible speede.

By others falts, thoughe not without my owne misfortune I have beene with my hole companye in the castel of Como within the state of Mylan, and under the Spanyerdes, heare is with me Seath Cox his brother the Merchant, whose letters and writings

and bookes of m'chandize was the occasion of all our trobles: by them he is discouered for an Inglish man, the other towe being of holand thowgh before the tooke Anwerp for their protection, yett such was the terrour of our seuerall vile dongions and base prisons, as they confessed themselves of Holand, so as they thre are deteyned in streight prison, my selfe stand constantlye to it that I am a Scotish man and a Scoler, and to them a stranger, except for the companye of this viadge, and I haue so mutch preuayled with the Gouernor heare a great Merchese, called Signor Oratio Palauicino, as he him selfe beleueth me, who after he had serched my Budgetts and portemantiwayes, not finding anye thing that might giue cawse of suspition against me, he hayth of his honorable fawour delyuered me of the castell and comitted me to my In with resonable lybertie: and if the dronkin flemings do not accuse me upon some newe examination, I am almost assured to be delyuered to morowgh, or otherwayes shalbe retorned, to take part of the vile imprisonment with my companions: I hope well, and do not doubt by the grace of god to ouercome the gretest extremitye so as you shall not neede to inquire further till you heare eyther further from me, or from some others by my meanes: I have written to Seath Cockes to Padway who I hope is not yett departed, who will come in person to solicite his brothers deliuerawnce and do me helpe if he shall finde me theare, my lying in the

poasts, howse and speciallye this night hayth giuen me greate comoditie to conueie these lr̄es, without the priuitye of any one: Thus much to sertifie you, of my unfortunate estate, wish me well and hope the best, for I doubt not by the grace of God to be delyuered forth of theare fingers.

Comend my humble deuty to my father and mother, my sister I remember with all kindnes and so in hast I end, for tyme giueth me no longer leaue: God send you health and happines and me lybertie from Como this 30th of May 1594

Your assured loving brother
W Slyngisbie.

III.

[*Sir*] *William Slingsby* [*of Kippax*] *to* [*Sir*] *Henry Slingsby* [*Knt*].

Suche hath been my unserteynes since my coming ouer, as althowgh I have bene heare this xx dayes, yett am I not resolued whether spedelye to retorne to seeke newe aduentures, or ells to come and do my dewtye in Yorkeshire and have therefore forborne to write.

At my arriuall I was terryfied by my meanes of a rumor spred forth by frawnsis Alnd whose villanus dealing with me hath been exeding strang, the

p'ticulars I refer to our meting: I haue not withstanding giuen my *Lo: Tresurer so good satisfaction, as he haythe in my excuse written to my father, and is redye to prefer me vpon the first occasion, besides many honorable interteinmentes haue I had of diuers of the counsell.

In this instant, there happened and [an] occasion of sending armies both by sea and Land into Brittaynye with the presence of The Earle of Esex and Lord Admirall. in this I was willing to Imploye myself, and by the aduise of †Sir George Carewe my dearest frind, I thought of a place verie honorable for me, w^{ch} was to be ‡comessarie of the munission of I moued my Lo. Tresurer for his fortherawnce who to my self haythe promised me, and to that haythe my Supplye.

Lo. Admyrall giuen me his consent: so as if the Jornye holde, w^{ch} is now in doubt by reason of S^{r}. John Norris his coming I hope to be imploied according to my desire.

I p'seaue by your lres to M^{r}. Cockle of your care

* Lord Burleigh.

† Afterwards Lord President of Munster, and Master of the Ordnance, and created Lord Clopton by King James I. and Earl of Totness by King Charles I. He was the Author of that account of the wars in Ireland in the end of Queen Elizabeth's reign known as "Stafford's Pacata Hibernia" published in 1633, four years after his death.

‡ It is recorded on his monument that he obtained this place in 1596.

of me, and other then my bills of exchandge to M^r^. Beecher you shall not neede to dischardge, for I do euerie daye looke for bills of exchandge for the satisfaction of Blacknol's monye with w^ch^ I will dischardge the last.

My credit is heare uerie smal, for if I weare to starue for want so God helpe me I thinke .... would see me want, yett haue I passed over this present, and shall not neede much onles my jornye to sea goe forward, if otherwayes, you shall se me shortelye in the contrye: in the meane tyme excuse me to my father and mother to whome I forbeare to write tyll I be resolued: In haste attending these expeditions I take my leaue with my hartye comendations to my deare Sister: from the Myneries this 25^th^ of July 1594

Yours most bownden
W. Slyngisbie.*

* Sir John Norris returned to the Continent September 1, with orders to seize the Spanish fort at Crodon near Brest, but no armanent was fitted out of the magnitude which it appears from this letter was at one time intended. Crodon was taken, November 3, with the loss of the brave Admiral Sir Martin Frobisher, and Sir Anthony Wingfield. See Camden's Life and Reign of Queen Elizabeth.

IV.

Lady Lucy Stanley to [Sir] Henry Slingsby [Knt.]

Good coussen I must entreate your paynes in bestowing this xx^{p} w^{ch} you shall receave by this bearer in orient pearle, I would have them of xij^{d} ore xviij^{d} a peice but I will refere it to your discretione, goode faire pearle I wold have them, I thinke you may speede best at my lorde of Cumberlandes for I hard that Sir Henry Counstable bouhte faire pearle that cam from my Ld: Cumberland much vndere the value, I pray you send them me downe by this bearere in some bocxe, and I will remain thankefull for your paines, and requite it with anie thing I may. Thus with my louing comendations vnto you desiring to remembred to your brother william if he be in towne, I comite you to God winwicke the xjth of May [1595]

Your assured cossen in what
I maye
Lucy Stanley*

* This Lady was one of the daughters and coheirs of Thomas Seventh Earl of Northumberland, and was therefore first Cousin to Sir Henry. Her husband was Sir Edward Stanley, grandson of Edward, Sixth Earl of Derby. Another coheir of the Earl of Northumberland was the Lady Elizabeth Wooderoue

V.

[*Sir*] *William Slingsby* [*Kn*^{t}. *of Kippax*] *to* [*Sir*] *Henry Slingsby* [*Kn*^{t}.]

Brother, wyllm̄ Pearsons letter came to my handes very lately by reson of my absence, for I was with S^{r} Thomas Cycill at the Bathe. his desire was that I should procure a warrant from M^{r} Chancellor for the sesure of the goods of one Guy and Hopson, conserning 100^{l}: lent to retorne, but M^{r} Chancellor did vtterly refuse to grant the same without my lo: Treasurer; making som doubt that it was not the Queenes mony. and wyth my lo: Treasurer no man can speke, partely by reson of these busynes now in hand, and partely for his sicknes.

This day the Queene came her self to his howse to consult wyth him aboute the busynes of Callis and this new preparation to the Sea. Callis is as good as lost, being alredy battered; and the Spanyerdes haue a bulwark, and lodge vppon the same, keeping there seege so straite as there is no meanes for the king of france to putt in succor; yet it is

[Woodroffe] mentioned in Sir William Slingsby's letter of May 3, 1611, and the Lady Mary, also named there, was probably a third; the Lady Mary was a Prioress of Brussels.

thowght not wythstanding that my lo: of Essex his Jorney shall go forward*.

If you wyll any other of my seruice in this cawse direct me further, and I shall be redye to performe it, so desiring to be humbly remembred to my father and mother, wyth my very harty comendations to my sister, I take my leaue from London this †Mawnday thursday 1596.

Your assured louing brother
W. Slyngisbie.

VI.

[Sir] William Slingsby [Knt. of Kippax] to his Father "Mr. Francis Slyngisbie Esquier."

Sr

I haue long desired to heare from you, and do well hope you are before this tyme delyuered from that bondadge: I doubt not but you haue hard how the windes haue conspired against vs, and as yett we attend the good tyme of our delyuerance, and if we be not yett too long imbayed there wyll be hope left to do seruice vppon the enemy, thowgh not in that manner as was first intended; for dayly our fleete

* Calais was taken before Essex with his forces could leave England.

† April 10.

grows les and les, our vittayles spending; and our Soldyers Sycke and weake; some craue leaue to go for there infermyties, and some go wythout leaue indispyte of all proclamations prohybiting them: many of the Gentylmen aduenturers alredy gone, som for sea sicknes discoradged by the last storme, some out of a more base disposytion hopeles now to make profytt of the vieadge, for whych end only they vndertooke the Jorney, & som for want, long synce spent to the vttermost of these credyttes and abylyties, Yett I thanke God my brother and my self ryde it out at an anker, wyth resolution to indure wyth the laste, all in healthe at land, thowgh for my own parte, at the seas, I was the syckest of syx hundreth in our shyp: we wyll all want before one shall want, and I hope we shall be able to indure it.

The somer is so far spent as it is thowght our land soldyers shall be dischardged this next weeke, a few excepted, to be deuyded emongst the Queenes shyres to man them more thorowghly, and the next wynd to go on wyth the fleete to fyght wyth the enymie by Sea, if he dar come forth to inconter vs, or to assalt the west indyan fleete if it shall be our fortunes to fynd them*. So constant a contrary wynd hayth beene seldom seene and so stormy a somer never seene.

If we be not inlarged within this xx dayes whereof

* They missed the Indian fleet.

there is not left any greate hope, our hole Jorney wyll be overthrowne and we must retorne to our losses wythout hope of releefe: to such fortunes are men subiect that seeke forraine adventures: but if I may retorne to fynd you in healthe and lybertye the comforth thereof wyll repayre my losses. In the meane tyme I wyll exercyse my patience to indure these extremyties, and so beseching God to preserue you in all contentment and happines I humbly recommend my deuty to you and to my mother. from Plymowth this xijth of August 1597.

Your most bownden and obedient Sonne
W. Slyngisbie.

VII.

[*Sir*] *William Slingsby* [*of Kippax*] *to* [*Sir*] *Henry Slingsby* [*Kn^{t}*] *addressed "To the right woorshipfull my singular good brother M^{r}. Henry Slingisbie Esq^{re}. at Knarisborough giue these.*

Brother I have wrytten to you and to my father in tow seuerell letters wych wyll be conueyed to you by the meanes of John Coapyll, w^{ch} I feare me wyll not come to your handes so soone as these, in them I have wrytten more at lardge.

We haue newes heare of a parlament to begin the 12: of October next, if it be so, good brother put my father in mind to make me a burges of The parlament* for it is [a] thing I do exceedingly desire and therefore I do ernestly desire you to procure it for me.

We are this day in hope to gett out wyth the rest of our fleete and before night intend to sett Sayle. our land companies are all discharged, the old soldyers being ten companies excepted. there is small hope of good succes, the tyme of the yeare, and our victualls being alredie so far spent we that haue indured thus long haue had great patience, for many for want are long since gone and I beleeue if at this instant we do not cleare our selves of this harborowgh, the lord Generall wyll be stayed by the Queene, and some part of the fleete supplyed wyth victuall and sent forth vnder the chardge of the lord Thomas and Sr Walter Raligh. yet hayth the Earle of Essex an infinyte desire to procede.

Thus vncerten of our succes thowgh certen of our intollerable chardge and expences, we languish with desire to repayre our losses but wyth small hope, thowgh for my owne part such was my extremitye of sicknes the last storme, as weare not my respect of my reputation more to me then hope of aduantage, I would long since of left the Jorney. I pray you

* He was returned Burgess for Knaresborough this year.

comend me to my sister and so I comytt you to God from Plymuth in hast this 15: of August 1597

Your assured louing brother

W Slingisbye.

VIII.

The following letter is indorsed by Sir Henry Slingsby K^nt^. "22°. August: 1599 Newes from M^r^ Levyn, Seman," but the writer has not signed his name to the letter.

The continuall bruits of the great preparations in Spayne have made us now to looke to our selves and prepare for our safety, because the danger is both present and by all lykelyhood destined for vs. There are at the Groyne in Spaine (as the reports do concurre) about 120 ships both great and small, and some 30, or 40 galleis, w^th^ some 20 or 24 thousand men, all to be commanded by the Adelantado of Castilia.

The preparing of the Gallies at this tyme of the yeare doth inferr the entreprise to be suddain, because after this month they shall have small vse of galleis in our narrow seas, by reason of stormes and risings of bellowes.

And that they are drawing headd so farr northward as the Groyne, maketh the matter evident, that

it is either for us or the low contreis: the multitude of their shipping and the bignes of some of them; doth rather shew that it is meant for vs then for any other places; in the low contries there being no havens to receave them, and in Jrland there being no meanes to maintaine them.

Therefore the apprehension being for vs, it is thus resolued to withstand them. Her Ma^ty^ is a setting forth some 20 ships of hers to the sea, and some 16 of the Citty of London. My lord Thomas Howard is appointed to command them as Admirall, Sir Walter Raleigh Viceadmirall, and M^r^ fulck Grevill Rereadmirall: and the Ships are in good towardnes to sett forth w^thin^ these fower or fyue dayes. By land it is resolued to leuy an Army of 2600 foote, and all the trained bands of horse in some seuerall shires nearest adjacent to these partes; these forces shal be placed about the City, and part in Essex, and Kent, to be ready to march as there shal be occasion by the Ennemies landing.

The Erle of Nottingha is appointed gnall of all these forces: My lord Montjoye lieutenant gnall, S^r^ francis Vere Marshiall, the Erle of Northumberland gnall of the lances, the Erle of Cumberland gnall of the light horses, the Erle of Sussex Colonell gnall of the foote, S^r^ John Stanhoppe Threr, S^r^ George Carew master of the ordynawnce, and M^r^ Maynard Secretary of the counsell of warr. These great Cap^ens^, are now a trayning and disciplining their

forces, whereof a great parte are already come to the place of Rendezvous.

Three days since wee receaued a very hote allarum that the Spanyards were already come to Brest in Britanny, and by all lykelyhood it is now confirmed, that they were put to Sea in deede, and suffered great tempest, whereby they were dispersed at sea and some of them came to the coast of france; This, I hope will geue us some better leasure to prepare for them, and if our ships may be but at sea before their comming, I doubt not but wee shall shuffle well enough wth them.

All the Noblemen, and principall Gentlemen of most of the shires are commanded to come to the Court, and bring as many men and horses as their hability may beare, to wayte on the Queenes person. Ther is also order geuen to make an other Camp of 30,000 [3000] men, to attend on her Ma^{ty}, if need shall be, and my lord chamberlaine is appointed their Capt^{n}. gñall. All this is now a doeing in the South parts and the west, whilste you in the North do sitt at rest.

This day the Lord President of the north hath begon his journey to repaire to his charge. God grant all may succeede to th' aduancement of his name and good of this Realme. In Irland the Erle of Essex hath don as much as might be performed by the sword, both in Lienster and Munster, but the Rebells shun fight, and runn away before him, but so

soone he is gone they returne to their former places. The great expedition in Ulster against Tyrone is now in hand, and some supplies of men and money is a sending thither, but it is to be feared it will prooue a long warr.

I fear me S^r^ I shall need to send you an Alphabete to read my lres, so are they scribled, for great hast, and such a bad secretary I am, both in worde and letter, but I know you will excuse me and take it in good parte*.

IX.

† *Henry, ninth Earl of Northumberland to Sir Henry Slingsby Knt.*

Cousin Slingisby the queene hathe not beene well nether is yett recouered what will become of it God ..... hope well, good order is taken for ..... ye by the Lords of the counsell for depressing all suche discontented persons as may make insurrections; you

* Some letters of Sir Henry Neville and Secretary Cecil in which this alarm is mentioned, may be seen in Winwood's State Papers under Sir Henry Neville's Negotiation in France in 1599. Book II.

† Obt. Nov: 5. 1632. For a full account of his very remarkable life see Sir Egerton Brydges's edition of Collins's Peerage.

may offer to the Lord Burley as from me all my tenants reddy to be disposed of in any sutche matter if it should happen in those parts any kind of mouing; this is all, you out of your discretion knowe what you have to doe, and soe fairewell

Your true freind and cousin.
Northumberland

March 17. [1603]

X.

The Earl of Northumberland to Sir Henry Slingsby K^nt.

Cousin Slingsebie, I would willingly pleasure those gentlemen whom you raccomende to me for the abatement of ther *loane vppon the priuie seales: yett bycause the assessement of that Country passed thorow my handes: I cannot but doe myself wrong to release any that I had formerly charged, without

* This manner of raising money was one of the *grievances* of the next reign. In Rushworth vol. i. pp. 418-9 will be found a minute of Private Instructions to the Commissioners for levying the money in the year 1626. It is not a little remarkable that the Earl of Strafford, then Sir Thomas Wentworth, and M^r. afterwards Sir George Radcliffe, were imprisoned for their refusal.

good testimonie of their disability in that kind. If therefore these gentlemen can procure two or three Justices handes to witness with them that ther Estate will not beare this charge, and withall to name in ther places two sufficient able men, vppon such certificate I will acquitt them

Your loving Cousin
Northumberland.

[1604]

XI.

31ˢ Martij 1610.

Instruccions for Mʳ Snell for the guidinge of his pupil Willm Slingesbye.

For Religion.

FFirste that he learne the principles of religion.

That he use the practice and service of God by daylye prayre besides at night when he liethe him downe and in the morninge when he risethe.

That when occacion maye be offered he resorte to the service sermons and Sacramᵗᵉ of the reformed Churche.

That he doe not too hastelye meddle wᵗʰ the sacramᵗ till his understandinge be a little bettered in point of religion:

That he never faile to give God thanks bothe

before and after meate if emongst his owne private compaine then publiquely if emongst strangers then private to himself.

That he spend some tyme in readinge of the scriptures and other books teachinge good life and doctrine.

That the Sabothe be religouslye kepte and wholy spent in prayer and other good Christian and religious exercises.

That all this be. p. formed in Frenche when he shall be able soe to doe.

For Scoler Learninge and Frenche

That next vnto religion he first applye his latinge that he maye have some sence of the congruitye thereof and maye a litle understand ordinary thinges when he shall reade them in latinge whilest Frenche is wantinge and that for lacke of language he cannot converse abroad it will be lefft wearisome to him to labor his latinge diligently.

Of bookes for his first labors. I doe most approve the wise sainge of Cato and the moralitie of the fables of Easoppe after them Terence. Theise well applyed and pfectlye learned wth the principles of learning will I thinke be sufficient for one yeares labor. A litle well understood and well imprinted in his memory will be muche better then a supficiall runnings thorought of moe or better Authors but my opinion is there neyther are nor can be better Authors.

That from his first landinge in ffrance yow doe not

speake anithinge to him but either latinge or in ffrencht excepte when yo^{w} shall have occacion to give him some holesome precepte w^{ch} cannot be understood by him but in English

That he doe not spend too much tyme in sleepe for that dothe but corrupte the bodye dulls the will and loose a great deale of tyme w^{ch} might be better imployed in learninge somethinge or other that is good:

For his studye in ffrench it maye be in diuers kindes somtymes ancient somtymes moderne histories and somtimes other kindes of learninge as occasion shall serve for most bookes are translated into ffrench of what kinde soever yett wth this pviso his speciall care be to gayne his latinge:

That when he shall well understand French it will not be imptinent to goe to the papists sermons when he cannot have meanes to goe to the ptestante:

That he studye the Mathamatikes:

That when he shall have competent language he doe not soe muche as meditate any thinge to him self but in ffrench of this he will finde greate use and pfitt:

That he doe not converse wth Englishe but verye rarely except in ffrench and that more cōmonlye by writinge then psonal discourse:

For healthe:

That he for his healthe walke and take the aire

often and that all his learnninge be not sitting but sòmtymes Walkinge and by way of familiar discoursinge w^{ch} will be lesse wearisome aud happilye more pfitable:

That somtymes he take some coolinge possette to keepe his blood and liver in good temper:

That he take heede of fruites and esspecially grapes for they breed the bloody fluxes and are verye daingerous for young psons.

That he temp his wyne well wth water

That he take heed what companie he keepes in too familiar a fashion for the frenche are of an ill conversacōn and full of many loathsome deseases:

The Dutche have a falte worse then that bothe for soule bodye thrifte and reputation.

That he apply well his writinge
That he learne his weapon
That he learne to dance
That he learne to ride
} Extraordinarie learninge.

Advises of Observation:

That he keepe a iournall of his travell and therein set downe, viz:

FFirst what townes, or villages he passeth by:

What faire churches Castles or houses he seeth in his waye or any other thinge worthie notes.

Whoe be the governors of the Townes Castles and provinces.

What other great men be there adioyning.

Of what religion linage and kindred they be of and there matches, wth their brothers Sisters and Children.

That in the places where he dothe not come he gather the names of the princes of the blood, the great Duke's and Potentates of the Kingdome there religion matches and alliance.

The gouerment and places of habitation of all suche princes and great p̄sons:

The great townes courtes of pliament universities and great rivers of all the kingdom:

The townes of trade and merchandize wth Englande and what comodities are exchanged in everye severall place:

That he be not altogether ignorant of all places and rivers of note throughout the whole worlde and somwhat more pticulerlye throughout Europe:

That he keepe a pfect and playne note of all his expenses and send me once a quarter at least a coppie both of his journall and expenses w^{ch} he must keepe for himself in 2 severall bookes faire written:

That he keepe well in one of his books the names of all suche marchantes as he hath coresspondence wth all and the postes and messengers by whom he passes and receaves l̄res the townes streete and there distincte habitacons that his directions beinge soe made maye be playne to euery bodyes understandinge.

That all his l̄res be directed to London to M^{r} I Phillip Bourlemache over against drapshall not far

from the Exchange and from thence to be sent to M^r^ John Coghill neare Blackwell hall and from him to Thomas Scoley at Wafefeilde:

That once every 14 days he read over theise Articles

XII.

Sir William Slingsby knt. [*of Kippax*] *to Sir Henry Slingsby kn^t^.*

This inclosed my *la: Elysabeth wooderoue desyred me to send you, and by hers to me I suspect the contents, wherein she is mistaken, so I thinke it was butt for one yere she desyred that trust: for the xx we borrowed: to satisfye my *la: mary I would be glad: and therefore doe intrete you if there be any in Yorkeshyre thatt can make a coppye of the Earles Pycture at your house thatt you will gyve order for the doinge of it on lynnen clothe, and I will att my coming downe Paye for itt, which wyll be, God wyllinge, aboute the end of June: here is no newes butt thatt the Kynge of Denmarke is gown in Person wyth an Army of 14: thousand in to Switheland, to conquer thatt Kingdome, takinge the advantadge (of)

* See above, note to Lady Lucy Stanley's letter of May 11, 1595.

the old Kinges adge and infyrmytye: butt it semeth our Kinge gyueth hym no fritherance as dislykineg the enterpryse out of his iustyce and :.. respect to the Kinge in possession: which intentyon so longe sence conceyued I beleeue drewe the Kinge into this contrye thowghe in vayne. So wyshynge you all happines I rest your

assured louing brother to be comanded

London the 3: of Maye 1611. W. Slyngisbye.

XIII.

To my verie louinge brother M^r^ Willm Slingesby at Paris

A monsieur
Mons. Guliaulme Slyngesbie gentilholme
Anglois a l' Academie pres la porte S^t^
Honoree a Paris.

Expertus in multis in magnis in bonis.

This posie (most louinge and beloued brother) which I have placed as I may say in frontispicio literarum is not sett downe for a theame to be declared of but as a memorandum which I meane (God willinge) to sett before me, and as it weere a continuall marke to aime at in all my actions through the whole course of my life ffor this only shall be my endeavour to gaine and gett knowledge and experience

everie day and that not in any one particular Art or science but in so many as I may, and these not of small weight or little moment but both the greatest and the best I may learne. God Almightie my heauenlie father assistinge me with his ... and our deere and naturall father wth maintenance and my carful Tutors and Diligent maysters wth instruction. Thus sendinge you the taiste of my hartie desire and the vew of my stedfast resolution ..... take my leave giueinge you hartie thankes for your discourse which youe sent vs ..... and prainge continuallie for your good health and happie retorne into England. ffoston * this 22 of Decembor Anno salutis 1612

Your louinge brother

Henrie Slingesbie

XIV.

The following extracts from the Household books of Sir Henry Slingsby the elder will be of interest to the general reader as well as to the antiquary, as exhibiting the kind and the degree of the expences of a knightly family of the reign of James and Charles the first. The books were usually kept by an accountant: but the two first entries quoted in April 1628, are made by Sir Henry in the first person.

*. In, Yorkshire where he was at school with M^{r}. Otby. See Diary. [Sir] Henry was at this date eleven years old.

One entry is given from the only account book of Sir Henry the younger which remains: the entries are not generally of sufficient interest to justify quotation, being for the most part memoranda of disbursements for agricultural purposes.

Ja : 1612

Apparell	ffor a quarter of velvet for a cloke cape v^{s}, for putting in the base & fellinge it about xxi^{d} for silke to put in the base vij^{d}, in all	vij^{s} iiij^{d}
Lr̄es	The : 1 : paid by the handes of Willm metimā ffor : 2 : lres that came by the caryer out of Yorkshier xij^{d}, for one lre frome Yorke in Januarij vj^{d}, to the porter for another lre iiij^{d}, in all	xxij^{d}

ffebr : 1612

Repara-c̄ons	To a ffellowe for Lyinge in the half pace before the chemnie in yo^{r} owne chābere	xij^{d}
	The 22 : paide into the Excbequer for a fyne imposed vppon you for * yo^{r} absence at yo^{r} assises in som^{r} last	CC^{li}. [Their is a quietus est fromthe Pipe]

* He was absent from the summer Assises in 1611, at which,

* Baron Snigge	To M^{r}. Barron Sniges geven him for his favore in yo^{r} business in the Exchequere	x^{li}
Apparell	ffor a paire of Spanishleather Showes	iij^{s} vj^{d}
	ffor a paire of blacke sylke Rossis	iij^{s}
Chardges	ffor †my goinge by water from the old swane to Westminster	iiij^{d}
	ffor a search in the Roles for the Copie of an Indenture	xvj^{d}
	ffor Henry Wildons goinge by water	iiij^{d}
	ffor yo^{r} goinge by water from the old Swane to Westminster & from thence backe againe	ij^{s}
	ffor mendinge and dressinge of the Jacke in yo^{r} kitchinge in yo^{r} house in S^{t}. Martines Layne	ij^{s}

being High-Sheriff, he should have been present, and was fined £200 by the Judges. The Parenthesis is Sir Henry's.

* This remarkable entry may assist in forming a judgement on Lord chancellor Bacon's case. See M^{r} Basil Montagu's Bacon, vol. xvi. p. cccxvi.

† i. e. the Accountant, Robert Burton.

Bookes	The 17: for bookes bought, viz. for the historie of prince moris his histories iij^{s} vi^{d}, newes from Virginie, the Epithalamie or Nuptiall poems of the mariedge of the La: Elis: & the vowe of teares xviij^{d}, & for S^{r} ffrancis baccons booke of Assaies xviij^{d} in a	vi^{s} vi^{d}
	The 18: bought more in Powles church yearde, 2: set of songe bookes viij^{s} M^{r} Smith his Sermons vj^{s} vj^{d} & the Accedence of Armorrie ij^{s} vj^{d} [*sent to Allne & ffoston]	xvij^{s}
Chardges	ffor 2: pounde of Candles	x^{d}
Woodd	ffor one hundredth of faggetes	ix^{s}
Clocke & watche mendinge	ffor a new case & the mendinge of yo^{r} watche	v^{s}
	Paid likewise for the mendinge of my La: sheffeilde's clocke	viij^{s}
M^{r}. Snell	The 28: to M^{r} Snell in full dischardge of x^{li}: pmissed him for a Rewarde for his 2: yeares attendance of M^{r}. Willm Slingesbie in ffrance besides his wages & his chardges	xx^{li}

* Parenthesis in Sir Henry's hand

March 1612.

Apparrell	Bought for the fynnishinge vp of yo[r] fustian dublit viz: 4 oz: & a qrtr of mingle collerde gallone at ij[s] iiij[d] oz: ix[s] xj[d] for 3: qrtr of a nounce of silke xviij[d], for 4: doz. of buttons xij[d], for a quarter half & nale of Rich taffatie v[s] vj[d], for 3: y[r]des & 3 qrts of Jens fustian ij[s] viiij[d], in all	xxx[s] vij[d]
	ffor the mendinge and boyllinge of yo[r] silver Spurse	xviiij[d]
	The: 6: to M[r] Bardvicke for a hate & a bande taken of him in Januarij last	xj[s]
Coles	ffor one tonne of Scoch Coole	xviij[s]
	To a fellowe to helpe in w[th] the Cooles	ij[d]
[my]selfe	To yo[r] self to put in yo[r] purse	v[s]
Mappe	ffor a mappe of asia Lym̄ed & Collerde bought in popes alley	xvj[d]
Chardges	To the Launderesse for yo[r] washinge from the 6: of March to the 3: of Apr: viz: 5 shirtes xv[d]: 9 bandes laist xviij[d]: 5 paire of boothose toopes v[d], 3 skarfes iij, 4 Cap Lyninges iiij[d], one bage i[d], sockes & Rubb[rs] iiij[d]	iiij[s] ij[d]

Apr: 1613.

Booke of Paper	The 8: bought* this paper booke for my Account bounde in vellū of 4 quer of pap	iij^{s} ij^{d}
S^{r}. Gilfoorde Slyngesbie	The: 10. to S^{r} Gilforde Slingesbie for his half yeares Anuitie dew at our Ladie daie last past	x^{li}
Apparell M^{r}. Kinder	The 15: to M^{r} Kinder in cheapsed m^{r}cer in full dischardge of: 116^{li}: 13^{s}: iiij^{d} paid vnto him for divers waires bought of him in nov: 1611 against the time of yo^{r} Shirifaltie besid divers some to him fform^{r}lie paid	x^{li}
Housholde-stuffe	To an vpholdster for: 4^{or}: highe stooles coverde wth reed leather at v^{s}: vj^{d} & for one turkie Carpit xxviij^{s} in all	l^{s}

Maie: 1613.

Chardges	ffor boothyer frome tower warfe to graves ende at yo^{r} goinge to S^{r} Edw: Hobbies to vpberie in Kent	v^{s}
	To S^{r} Edw: Hobbies cochmā for his chardgs & a footmās in stayinge wth the coch & 4: horssis for yo^{r} cominge to cary yo^{u} to vpberie	ix^{s}

* The book is a small folio.

W. Slyngesbie	Bought for M^{r} Willm̄ Slingesbie one w^{tt}: felte hate xiij^{s} for a w^{tt}: feather wth a touch of Murrey in it iiij^{s} in all	xvij^{s}

June: 1613.

W. Slyngesbie	The: 11: for a paire of whit shewes for M^{r} Willm Slingesbie	iij^{s}
Dancinge for Eline Slyngesb:	To M^{r} Hearne for: 4^{or}: mounthes teachinge of M^{rs} Ellen Slingesbie to dance at Yorke	xxvi^{s} viij^{d}
Horse for W: Slyngesbie	ffor a horse bought for M^{r} Willm̄ Slingesbye in Smithfeild a blacke nage for his iourney into Italie	iii^{li} x^{s}

Julij: 1613:

Chardges	ffor: 3 paire of boothose for M^{r}. Willm̄ vj^{s} for: 6: paire of sockes iij^{s} in all	ix^{s}
	Bought for him one doz: of Russitt silke poynts ij^{s} for a silver seale ingraven wth *2 leopeards heades wth the horne & bandes v^{s} in all	vij^{s}
	ffor a booke bought for M^{r} Willm Slingesbie called the Italian Scholmaister	xviij

* The Slingsby [Scriven] coat.

Horse boughte	To M^{r} Lewen for a litle bay nage bought of him	
A seale*	ffor a seale bought for yo^{r} self Ingraven wthin it the Sonne & the marigold wth a posie in it dū vivo perio	lv^{s}.
	ffor showinge the grissell nage & the blacke nage for goinge into ffrance	iij^{li} viij^{d}
	ffor mendinge the leather sadle for newe stiropes & stirropleath^{r}s & girthes for M^{r} Willm^{s} man. for their iourney thourowe ffrance	ij^{li} vj^{d}
W. Slyngesbie.	The: 7: bought in the Exchange for M^{r} Willm̄ Slingesbie one pfumed satton bage Imbrotherede wth silke & gold & Lynned wth taffatie, & one combe case Lynnede wth grene velvett furnisht wth glasse combes & brush paid for in all	iiij^{li}
	The same time to M^{r} Burlomatque to be repaid againe at fflorrence the first of octobre next to M^{r} Willm̄ Slingesbie	l^{li}

* Several impressions of this seal still remain

for his Chardgs & expencis in Italie vppon a lr̄e of Credite geven to M^r. Willm̄ Slingesbie at his goinge into Italie.

for one bridle bought by Rich: meamynge xviiij^d

ffor my Supp.^r abroode yo^u beinge at S^r *Julius Ceasars vj^d

Chardges

To a boy to walke yo^r horssis at Richmonde ij^d

ffor† ferriley over at putney iiij

To a power womā for openinge a gaite in yo^r waie to Eslington ij^d

Watche

ffor the puttinge a new springe into yo^r wach for dressinge it & makinge it clene x^s

Chardges

ffor yo^r washinge frome the: 3: of Julij: till the: 23: of the same viz: 4^or: shirtes xij^d 9: bandes laiste xviij^d 4^or paire of boothose toopes iiij^d: 2: Cape Lynninges ij^d handcourchefes iij^d sockes & Rubb^rs: iiij^d in all iij^s vij^d

* Judge of the Admiralty Court to Queen Elizabeth: Chancellor of the Exchequer and Master of the Rolls to James I. and Charles I. ob^t. 1636.

† i. e. ferry toll.

Chardges	The: 29: at Bountingforth in dyet viz: Loyne of mutton ij^{s} Cople of chickens xiiij^{d} Butter & Eges vj^{d} breade & beare ij^{s} iiij^{d} in all	vj^{s}
	ffor horsmeat their for 4^{or}: horssis viz: for hey viij^{d} for grese xvj^{d} in pvinder 8 peckes at 8^{d}: v^{s}:iiij^{d} in all	vij^{s} iiij^{d}
	To the chamberlayne in Rewarde vj^{d} to the Osler iiij^{d}	x^{d}

Aug: 1613

H. Slyngesbie	The : 6 : sent to M^{r} Otbie by the handes of Chr: waide towardes the buyinge of M^{r} Henry Slingesbie & M^{r} Thomas Slingesbie some clothes & and other nessissaries as need shall requier for w^{ch} he is to make accounte of	y^{li}
Tho:Slyngesbie	The same time more sent to the said M^{r} Otbie by the said Chr: waide for the dyet & learninge of the said M^{r} Hen Slingesbie & M^{r} Thomas Slingesbie for one half yeare ended at Thanuntiacõn last past	viij ^{li}

oxen Reed-house	The 15: to Robt Thackwraie for a yoke oxon bought at tollerton faire	viij^{li} xviij^{s} iiij^{d}

Aug: 1614.

Housholde puicõn viz: Cowe & sheepe	To Thomas Joy to buy a fate cowe for pvicõn of yo^{r}. house iij^{li} xij^{s} iiij^{d} & for half a skore of fatt sheepe for the like v^{li}: iij^{s} iiij^{d} in all	viij^{li} xv^{s} viij^{d}
Apparrell	ffor 16: yeardes of bone lace bought for 2 Rufes & 4: paire of Cuffes for yo^{r} self at vj^{d} yearde	viij^{s}

Nov: 1614.

Chardges	ffor horsmeate at Newmarkitt 4^{or}. daies & 4^{or}: nights viz in otes 17: pecks at 8: xj^{s} iiij^{d} in hey viij^{s} to the osler vj^{d} in all	xix^{s} x^{d}
Chardges	The 27: in dyet at Supp at London at the flower de luce in ffetter laine viz Loyne of mutton ij^{s} a pullit ij^{s} iiij^{d} breade & beare xvj^{d} Chesse ij^{d}	v^{s}: x^{d}:

Chardges

ffor a proclamacõn ffor strangers that be noblemen or gentlemen that beare place: for their Repaire home ffrome Citties into the countrie — ij^{d}

The 28: in dyet in yo^{r} chamber at Dynn viz: pece of beefe ij^{s} Rabit xij^{d} breade & beare viij^{d} — iij^{s} viij^{d}

Dec: 1614.

Trees for the Garding at Reed-house

Bought of the Baskit maker in tuttle street trees for yo^{r} gardinge at Read house viz: 3 winter muske peares & one winter Bargamote at ij^{s} a pece viij^{s}. 2 portingal quences & 2 barberrie quinces at ij^{s} a pece viij^{s} 3: Reade wardinges at ij^{s} a pece vj^{s} one Russit peach iij^{s} 2: Romaine peaches at v^{s} a pece x^{s}: 2: Currante grapes & one muskedell grape at xviij^{d}: iiij^{s} vj^{d} one duble muske Rose naturall ij^{s} 2: aplicotes at ij^{s} vj^{d} a pece v^{s} 1: Duke cherrie v^{s}: & one duble muske Rose grafted xviij^{d} in all liij^{s}. abated vj^{d} paid — lij^{s}: vj^{d}:

ffeb: 1614

Benevolence to the Kinge	To M[r]. Rob[t]. Haynes one of the kinges Juelhouse for yo[r] free guifte vnto the kinge by the handes of Chr: Hartfoord as by acquitance bearinge date the 31: of Januarie: 1614: appeareth	vj[li] xiij[s] iiij[d]
Paper & Inke	ffor a quer of pap iiij[d] for incke & a glasse to put it in ij[d] all	vj[d]

Apr: 1628

*Tombe& chappel at Knaresbr:	To the painter of knar: the 4: for y[e] keepinge cleane my fathers tombe & chappell whearin it standes for 3 yeares endinge at Easter nowe pñtlie cōminge iij[s] & for mendinge the lr̄es in the wryghtinge of the tombe ij[s]	v[s]

* The tomb of Francis and Mary Slingsby, for some account of which see Genealogy.

Maye: 1628

Wages

To my servants for the wages for one halfe yeare ended at maye daie laste 1628:

viz:

To Isabell Braderigge—paid 12: Jul: 1628

To Elizabeth Milner p. ffr. oddie xvj^{s} viij^{d}

To Allice Anderson p. ffr: oddie xiij^{s} iiij^{d}

To Katherine Ele p. ffrans oddie xij^{s}

To ffrauns oddie xl^{s}

To Anthonie Harreson the Cooke xl^{s}

To Tho: Adamson the Butler & brewer xl^{s}

To Teage Haire xl^{s}

To Willm Steade the over man xl^{s}

To George Marshall the husbandman xxxiij^{s} iiij^{d}

To Nedd Coniers xx^{s}

To Marmad: Bolton x^{s}

To Willm Hinkes the gardner

Brickes	The 29: for 1000 of brickes bought at clifton x^{s} for Carriage xij^{d}	xj^{s}
A brushe	The 30 to ffrauns oddie inter alia for a brushe	ix^{d}

June 1628

a cheese	The 24. to ffra: oddie for a cheese in weight 22^{lb}: vij^{s} iiij^{d}	
Bethell	To Geo: Marwoodd by the hands of He: Bethell in further pte of his wives porcon	xiij^{li}

Julie: 1628

Bethell	The 4 to Geo Marwoodd in further pte of his wyves porcon	xlvij^{li}
necessaries for the kitchinge &c	Boughte in the hall 2: Rowling paines for the Cooke ij^{s} & some litle peeces for him vj^{d}. for 2: ginger bread prints xij^{d}. 3 butter prints vj^{d} & to give awaye, in all	v^{s}
Subsedie	To willm dyghton Collector for y^{e} subsedie for the towe firste of v: subsedies granted to his ma^{tie}: at the laste plament	viij^{li}

Aug: 1630.

Painter Chappell	To Horseley the painter in pte of 3li for his woorke at ye Chappell besides what by your selfe xxs	xxs

Nov. 1630.

Bredd	Their is disbursed for bredd to Mr. Hutchinsō frome the 5: of maye 1630: till the 19: of Nov: 1630: besides manchett	xxiijli xvjs vjd
wh: Seede Rie	ffor ijqrs iiijbs of seede wheate to sowe at Redhowse	vjli viijd
	ffor ijbs of seede Rye & for chardges for bothe	xs & xiiijd

August 1631

Sea Cole	To Shawe of Spurriergate for xvj chalder of Sea Coles wante—ijbs at 12s 10d	xli iiijs vijd
Charcole	To John Burneley of Thorner in Maye for 2: Chalder of vjbs: of charcole broughte to howse at 4s the qr.	xxvjs iijd
Oxen boughte	ffor one paire of oxen boughte at Rippon faire on Maye daie laste	xijli ixs

Trenchers	The 30: for v doz. of maple trenchers viz: 3 at 10^{d}. & 2 at 7^{d}	iij^{s} viij^{d}
Doctor Cademan & plaister	To doctor Cadaman at tuice xx^{s}. to M^{ris}: Bacon the apothecarie for Parasellsis plaister xij^{s} & to the barber for helpinge him xij^{d}	xxxiij^{s}
Paraselsis plaister	ffor halfe a pounde of Paraselsis plaister boughte of an apothecarie in seethinge layne to Carie downe into Yorkeshier	ij^{s}

December 1631

Barber	The 17 to the barber for trim̄inge me	xviij^{d}
Seale of Armes.	for a seale of armes for my selfe	vj^{s} vj^{d}

Januar: 1631

Hen: Slyngsbie	To Henrie Slingsbie for the increase of his allowāce of diett for 3 weekes at Criās over and above his weeklie allowance for him selfe & his wife at 6^{s}. a weeke a peece	xxxvj^{s}
Spectacles	ffor 6: paire of spectacles to give awaie emongste my daughters	iij^{s}

XV.

Account Book of Sir Henry Slingsby the younger

Nov: 1638

To John Gowlin for eight daies worke felling timber & making the frame for the topp on the Steple * for the lêads	0 8 0

XVI.

Anne Slingsby to Sir Henry Slingsby Kn^t^.

My humbel duty remembred

Sir I have receved your letters with the Anser of the note I sente you and I have receved M^r^ Shuts ansewer upon them: and shewed them to my sister Waterton for whome I desired to have them ansered and I also perceve that soum hath in fourmed you that my desire to live in Yorke is but to follow som fantasticall Brownistes.

I doo acknowledge your fatherly loue to mee in admonishing mee of thiese thinges: but I doe protest before God that my desire is not for any such

* I. e. of Moor-Monkton church, which was therefore completed at this time. See Diary, page 4.

thinge; but to live where the word of God is plentifoully tought, and not out of any love to any particler manes doctren, nether do I thinke but I may prophet. by a larned preacher if his life be never so evell; but it doth much greeve mee to be where the word is so weakely tought that one shall find no prophet nor comfort in it; as I thinke your selfe knowes that he at Allne hath nether larning nor religion in him:

My desire is w^t^ Mary to chues the better parte; and not with Marthay to comber my selfe w^t^ worldly thinges; nor yet to live as a drone; it hath plesed God to take all occations of worldly cares from me that I have nothing that waie to busie my selfe in: nether doe I take any comfort in the plesurs of this world, but my delite is so to spend my dais here that hereafter I may live for ever: but whie any shuld accues mee of houlding any opinieon contrary to the church of england I doe not knowe: nor to my knowledge I doe not: nor doe I hold any which I have not ever held; my sister Bethell was tould that I shuld say that I would not receve the Communion but with one of these which they cauel puritan preachers: which never living cretuer hard me saiy: and shee can witnes weth mee that sence that I have receved at Allne; w^c^ if I had ben doutfoul of the lowfoulnes of it I would not, for I know that to do any thing doutingly were a sinne tho of it selfe were never so lofoul; whoe tould hir this I do not know; nor whether shee thinke that I was of that opinion or no

I know not; but I am sure shee cannot saye that ever shee hard me make doubt of it; nor yet that ever I ded seeke to be resolved of it: which if I had mad any doute of it I would have done:

I have perceved by your former letters that som had put these douts of mee in to your head, and then I in treate my Brother Bethell to tell mee who it was and what coues ani had to doe it: and hee sade that hee knew no coues they had but when I was at Yorke that I cept such and such compani: and sum of them w^c^ hee named I do not knowe nor ever spoke to them in all my life; when I went to Yorke when my my sister Metcolfe sas [was] their I was for the most part with hir and would have line their if their had ben a bed for mee; what the true caues of my going at that time was I have all redi writ to you: and at other times them whome I have kepte the most compani with was one harves whoe dweleth right over against M^r^ Neuel's, and M^rs^ Neuel's doughter; and I doe thinke if you did know them both, you would not dis-like of their compani:

Their is now in Yorke one in presen and hath many articles put in against him but hee doth deny them all, and I hard my cosen otby say that hee hard that my lord beshop shuld say in open court that of this [his] contience hee thought that they were not true and besides I hard hee shuld say that hee thought that they were don of males [malice]; it was tow preachers that brought them to my lord, but they had them but by the report of

others; and beeing at Yorke I hard som speake strangesly of him and sum much commend him; and he coming to that Harves houes, I went thether desiring to here there conferance, but truly Sir I ded never here hem speake aganst the goverment of the church, nor yet speake evell of them which hath don this aganst him: nether do I know any opinion that hee houldes contrary to the church: only I here that hee will not supcribe to some orders of the church: what his reson is I do not know, nether doe I desire to seeke into those things w^c^ doth not belong to mee:

I have here truly acquanted you with what company I kepte, and they ar all the acquantanc which I have in Yorke more than I had before: but if any seeke to perswad you that my desire to follow the exercies of religion is no thing but for the love of these people, they do me much wrong and I take God to witnes, whoe knowes the secret thoughts of my harte, that my desire to live where the word of God is plentifully tought was not out of the love to any man: but out of a true and ernest desire to spend my time in the best exercises of religion: upon your leve and concent to this my desire, I was porposed to live at Yorke, and did acquant my Brother Bethell with it, and in treat him to inquire mee out a convenient place where I mite be bourded, which hee promised mee to doe, and saide if I could larne of any that I thought fit, lett him know and hee would do his best to tolke with them and inquire of them

whether it were a convenient place or no: but cence that I receved your last letter I do intend to staye till I hear forther from you; and if it shall please you to apoint mee any other place where I may spend my time in these exercises of religion I shall be as willing to go thether as to Yorke, in what place of the countre so ever it shall be in:

My Brother and my sister knowes that I have gon both to Fosten and Suttan upon the same ocation and that I have been this twelmunth in hand with them ether to get a better preacher to Allne or to live where there were a better: and when I could prevale in nether I did intend to live myselfe where I mite have it if it would plese you to give me leve: they doe thinke much with me for it, which I thinke they have no reson to doe: and whie they do condem M^rs^ Hamp for drowing mee to any noveltie I knowe not, except it were becoues their was a man in presen at Yorke wich for his folt commetted did pennance and was to pay his charges and com agane the next court day: and shee seeing him sory for his folt and willing to submet him selfe to induer what punishment it shuld pleaes the bishop to lay upon him, and being a poure man. and not abell to pay his charges, shee uesed sum menes to make him sum mony of hir frendes, piting to see him lie for want of mony to pay his charges; so haveing found this kindnes of hir, when hee was to com to Yorke agane, hee came to hir houes in the contre, being in his way, and the next

day being the sabbath he cam to Allne to church with hir and hir husband, and they all dined at my Brother Bethell's:

At the after nowne, as my coustem is when their is any in the parler which is tolking of their bees or beace [beasts] or line [kine], which I have none, to busie my selfe with, nether doe I thinke it fit for any to imploye their mindes with that day, I walked abroad, and they came to me and their were awhile to-gether: but truly their was nether hee nor shee that did seke to make me beleve any noveltes: and for hir I thinke shee nether doth nor ever did hould any opinion contrary to the church of england, but will submit hirselfe to the orders theirof:

This is all the coues that they have to say so by him: yet can they not say that I have ever done any thing which I ded not before: I here that sum shuld say that I growe mallincoly, but in truth they are deceved in mee for I am not, nether have they any coues to say so: the moste of my time I spend ether in my closet reeding, or in the garden walkeing and meditateing what I have read, and except this make them sad I do not know what coues they have: and as I have sent you a papistill note to get ansered so would I let you know if I liked any newe opinions: but w'out any more protistacions I hope you will beleve mee that I doe not: but those which have put you in these douts of mee, if I be not deceved, was hee whoe gave mee that note I cent you, which was my cosen

barret: I know hee is angry both with me and M^rs Hamp which makes mee susspect him; for when the King was at Yorke I lay at his house and their was so much unquietnes betwext him and his wife as I could not indure it, but when I went to Yorke agane I lay at M^r Hampes, and ever cence hee hath ben angrie at us both: but if hee could have drowne mee to have beleved ani papestecoll opinions hee would not have wretten to you of that: but I hope that nether he nor no man shall ever drowe mee from the truth; It hath ben my prayer daylie to God to derect me in his truth, and so I hope hee will, and I hope this will satisfie you that I am wronged in this: for I have written the truth and nothing but the truth, and more then this can no man say aganst mee: and so desiring your daly praers for mee I humply take my leve

Your obedient doughter

Allne the 13 of July [1617] Anne Slingesby*

I beseceh you let me here form you as sowne as you can: and if this doe not satisfies you if it will plese you to let mee know what they can say that I ether dow or hold any opinion which is not lowful, and I will do my best to give satisfaction: it do not greve me to have these slanders raesed on mee but it doth

* See Pedigree.

much greve me that you shuld have any such doubt of mee.

If I goe to Yorke I thinke I may be at me lord presedent Stuerd's house: I do not know them, but I here so much good of mee lord that I thinke hee will have none but truly religious people about him.

XVII.

Lady Englefield to Sir Henry Slingsby K^nt.

Worthy Knight

And my beloved Cosen: by your Letters receaved the other day I perseaved that you ar not only mindfull, according to your promise, to pray for me, but that your thoughts ar much busied in studing how to reduce me into unity of beleefe with yourselfe, haveing great hope of your good success tharin when you consider thes sparkes of grace which you say you have seene and observed in mee.

And for an enduction thar unto you begine with a story of the Duke of * brachianio, how he admired the queenes chapple and your Englishe servece: of this noble man I hav formally [formerly] heard as much as you relate and sum what more: for I understod by

* i. e. Bracciano, a town in the Province of the Patrimony of St. Peter, 12 miles north west from Rome.

a kinsman of mine, who saw him in florence at his returne volentarily submit hemslefe unto publike pennance for that he being a professor of the Catholicke apostelike and roman faith had by the alurement of a woman so scandalusly presented himslefe at a sollem asembly of thos who wear of the prostestant religion, to which, though it wer gelded over with a faire outside of musicke, he becam at his returne a fer greater enimy, as sone as he was sartainly enformed that the prostastant church did hould and maintaine as doctirnall poyntes all thes and many more solicing;

That Cheldren bourne in orignall sin might by vertue of thar protestant beleveing parents faith be saved without the sacrament of baptisme.

That the sacrament of baptisme confereth no grace, purgeth no sin, but is only a bare seall of Gods grace whereunto they call witnesses.

That faith without good works is sufficient too salvation, that man hath nether free will to follow vertu nor eschew vice.

That it is empossible to keepe the commandiments.

That it is empossible for the body of Christ to be in heaven and at the same enstant to be really, truly, and essentially on earth, by any words of conseeration.

That contrary to the course of all other wills and Tesstaments, which are ever letterally expounded, the last will and tesstament of Christ must be figuratively expounded as if he had given them bread and wine to

drinke in memory of his death: and yet he calls it, the bread of life, the liveng bread which desended from heaven.

That whosoever hath once ben a member of Christ can never after be holly cutt of from Christ, but may assure hem slefe of his predestinat election and salvation.

That thar is no such place as purgatory, no praire for the dead, but that the soul at his departure is in heaven or hell, and that the fathers of the ould tesstament wer thar before Christ.

That the tradition of the church is nothing worth, for that nothing is to be beleved but what by scripture is expressly taught and commanded.

That the church of Rom in her primative age was the trew mother church and faithfull spouse of Christ for many hundred of yeares together, but now shee is a baud, a strompet, and the whore of babilon.

That nether the Angles nor the blessed saints in heaven, for all thar gloriplication, can ether see, heare, or understand, what is don on earth.

That no man is obleaged to confes his sins to any other parson but to God himselef.

These and many other such like positions mad the Duke befor his departure out of this iland thinke sumwhat strangly of your religion all though it was accompanied with good outward abilaments.

And for my part, being a woman, it lettell beseemeth mee to medle with controversies of so hie a

nature, which makes me to wonder much that so wise a man as your slefe would present unto mee such a kinde of Letter: whereunto lest you might taxe mee of pride or encivility I have in sum sorte like a woman mad ansure, to show that I am not altogether so ignorant in points of your religion as you esstemed me to bee: all-though I will not acknowlege my slefe to be so skillfull as to understand ubiquity or Locallity: and tharfor I have heare returned you againe your German propisitions that you may your slefe find out som learned Catholicke divine to ansure your douts; which many ould willingly doe, if it wer not for a sertaine penall statute called the statute of persuasion: and so in trew charity and kinde love I leave you, desiring God to grant all thos who ar in error as your slefe a trew and perfict understanding of the Treuth with my best saluts rest

Your loveing Cosen and

[September 1617.] asured Friend

Jane Englefelde.

XVIII.

Lady Englefield to Sir Henry Slingsby Kn^t

Good S^r Harrye, I had thought, in my laste lines unto you, I had so fully satisfied you as that you ould not have troubled me any more, but it seems

you are in penurie of frindly devines that seeke resolutions of controversies from me sillie woman.

This argues that your example of the Duke of B: mor befittes you and your sectaries then me and those that professe my religion, for wee are taught to knowe your errors, and our owne artickles of faith, yea, and more then is nedfull to salvation, to ansure such curious questions as you propound. and that you may know it the better, with the helpe of my gardiner*, who knoweth how to rule a spade better than a pen and searcheth mor into the nature of hearbs then into the deapth of controversies, I replye to your artickles:

1 First, all that bear the name of Cristians acknowledge that the holy Eucharist, otherwise called the Supper of our Lord, is a Sacrament of the new Testament instituted by Christ, though it be no where in holy Scripture called a Sacrament. Wee Catholickes beleve and hold that the bread and wine are transsubstantiated, or substantially changed, ento the very body and bloud of Christ; Lutherans say that the bread and wine remaining thar is allso the very body and bloud of Christ: other prosestants say that the bread and wine doe signifie christes body and bloud

2 Wee Catholickes beleve that this blessed sacrament, being worthely receaved, is the Communion

* Was this a Romish Clergyman in disguise?

and partisipation of christes body and bloud with his blessings, strengthing the soul with encrease of grace: but whoso ever receaveth it unworthyly is guilty of the body and bloud of our Lord 1. Cor: ii. v. 27.

To your second I ansure; as all other sacraments of the newe testament so this mor abundantly conferreth ether, first, grace justifiing a sinner, or, encrease of grace: our blessed Saviour saying to his apostles, doe ye this in remembrance of mee, gave them power and commandement to doe that which hee had done, that is, to transubstantiat bread and wine into his body and bloud, saying this is my body which is given for you Luc. xxii. v 19., and, which shall be delivred for you 1 Cor: ii v 24. and saying, this chalice is the newe testament in my bloud which shall be shed for you Luc: xxii. v 20, sheweth that the selfe same body and bloud were in the blessed sacrament which were offered on the Crosse: but, on the Crosse, in bloudy manner, once for ever Heb i: v 27: in the holy Euchariste, in unbloudy manner, the night before his deth, ordaying the same to be continued untill he com againe in the end of the world. 1 cor: ii v 25, 26: and so this is a commemorative sacrifice, as the sacrafices of moyses Law were figurative, both those and this being trewe sacrafices: but this of infinite more value: the very same in substance with that on the Crosse, whereofe all the old sacrafices were figures: for as the old testament

was dedicated in bloud, exod 24 v 8, so heare our Saviour with the like forme of words dedicated his newe testament, saying this is the chalice of the new testament in my bloud: for noe testament, sayeth S. Paul, is dedicated without bloud, Heb 9 v 18, and tharfore seeing our Lord dedicated his new testament in the Eucharistę thar must needes be bloud:

To your third I say with Christes Catholicke Church thar is nether bread nor wine in the Sacrament: the accidents thereof remayning are only visible and under them thę very body and blood of Christ is invisibley receaved, according to his clere words, this is my body, this is my blood, my fleshe is meate endeed, my blould is drinke endeed: Joh: 6 v. 55: but alass good Cosin I must say to you as our Saviour sayed to the Capharnits in the same Cap v 63, Fleshe, that is, carnall conceites, profiteth nothing to understand this and other sich misteries. Fleshe and bloud revealed not to S peter that Christ the sonn of man is the sonn of the liveing god, Math 16 v 17.

And now to your fourth [four] questions; I ansure the first, Christ our Lord is not carnally, that is in carnall, fleshely or bloudy maner, in the Sacrament; nevertheles, his most sacred fleshe and bloude is ther corporally, substantially, and really, under the accidents of bread and wine: our Lord is not locally, but sacramentally, and so definitively, in the same places which the accidents occupie: he is not thare

sircumscriptly, as quantitative bodys ar circumscript in theire proper places: for conporall substance, as I hav heard philosophers say, filleth not place as corporall quantity naturally doth; but this is far above my womanish conceite, and so I leave it.

To your second, if a beast or a wicked man eate the b· sacrament they eate the body of Christ but Christ him selfe suffereth no enconvenience tharby.

To your third, bread and wine are miraculusly changed, as the water was changed into wine: betwene which miracles thar is this defference, the water was changed both in substance and accidents and so that miracle was sensible: in this ·b· sacrament the substance only is changed, so it is an invisible meracle in a mistery: both which miracles and others are wrought by the omnipotent power of our Lord who can doe all things that he will, psal 134 v 6. Mathi 19. v 26.

To your Fourth, Christ our Lord gave his apostles not only power to declare remission of sins but also to forgive sinnes, as judges doe iuridically absolve by their sentence, when he sayde, receave ye the holy ghost, whose sinnes you shall forgive they are forgiven them, Joh 20 v22 23. God also is the principall cause efficient in remission of sinnes; Christ as man receaved this power supereminently of God, as being united in divine person: and our Lord communicated his power to preistis as his ministires and vicars, and so thar power is ministeriall and vicariall

as the [they] call it: which power when our Lord proved by a meracle, the multitude glorified God that gave such power to men, not only to one man Christ, most eminently, but also to sum other men designed by him to his function Mat 9 v 8. And thus good Cosin craveing pardon if I ansure not your expectation in all things wishing my poore labours might do you good I reste in affection

Your loveing Cosin

[October 1617] Jane Englefele.*

XIX.

Lady Newdigate to Sir Henry Slingsby Knt.

All Noble Knight

I have receaued yo^{r} friendly letter beareing date the 6th of this moneth, the 13 day of the same: Your loueing respect & desire therein exspressed to per-

* It is to be regretted that Sir Henry's answers to these two very curious letters are not among his papers. It does not appear that Lady Newdigate was related by blood to Sir Henry, but her husband and Sir Henry were each descended from a coheiress of Sir Guiscard Harbotle: she herself was daughter of Anthony Browne Esq^{re}. (eldest son of the first Viscount Montacute,) who, dying before his Father, left the title to be inherited by his son, Anthony, Lady Englefield's brother. There is printed in Kimber's Baronetage a curious exemption from the laws against Popish Recusants granted to her son Sir Francis Engleficld by King Charles I.

forme a friendlye curtesie to me & mine doth make me exceedinglye much obliged vnto yo^{r} worthy selfe. And howsoeuer the succes of theise yo^{r} affectionate well wisheing motions take effect, Yett can I not but acknowledg it so great a fauoure done me that I shall not liue to forgett the memorie therof; nor neglect by my best endeuoures (if I may attaine the happiness) to manifest by some outward action my harts inward desire to shewe my thankfullness to you for the Knighting my sonn in this progress: (& as you were pleased to aduise) the further northward the more conueynient w^{ch} opinion I ioyne with you in, Yett I am voyde of meanes in those parts for the procureing of it, if I had a forward desire; w^{ch} I must confess I should be most glad to purchase at an easie rate, (& durst trust my Sonn) if there were an aduenture, for I doe thinke it might be an occasion of his soner bestoweing, because woemen are somtimes ambitious, especiallie young ones.

God's wilbe done: vnless I soñer determined to haue made some friend an instrument for the effecting of such a bussiness, I know not any now that I can so sodainely presume on; I am glad good Sir of the blessed newes of yo^{r} liberty, & should be as glad to be assured of seeing you at my house this Sommer. I assure you Sir not any Kinsman I haue shalbe more truelie wellcome to me. And although yo^{r} occasions Keepe you at London till after the next tearme, to come to

Arbery will be but a breathing iorney in this long vacation, to prepare you the better to endure the longer iorney after: if you will not take the paines before the tearme Yett I beseeche you then confirme yo^{r} long since made promise to visite my pore habitation in yo^{r} way into Yorkshire. I do not thinke that it can be a dayes iorney out of your way. And if you please in the meanwhile to write to the partie to knowe whether he be willing to match his daughter to A Gentleman of my Sonns Estate, & what portion he would bestowe to such conditions as shall not be disliked, that ther were a hope.

I shall be most gladd to haue him atende you when you goe. But truely Sir else I am unwilling to aduenture him so long a iorney, haueing bin very ill of a cold since his comeing home, w^{ch} he is merualous subiect to. I humblye thanke God this day [he] is prettie well, that I trust the worst is past.

For the Knight in theise parts w^{ch} I told you of for ought I can conceaue will proue of the same condition of some of yo^{r} fellowe prisoners.* If you plese to tell S^{r} Fran: Englefield so much & present my loue vnto him You will do me A friendlie curtesie; for time will not aforde me liberty in this kinde now to salute him, expecting my Mother & some friends withe hir here w^{ch} makes me thus hastely scrible theise to you. w^{ch} I could

* Sir Henry had lately suffered an imprisonment in the Fleet, having been cast in a suit in the Court of the Duchy of Lancaster.

not deferr being so much bounde to you, that being so farr distant in the time of absence, You would so carefully remember me in the chiefest bussiness of my care. Knowe worthy Knight that words are not sufficiently powerfull rightly to express what I owe you. Yett doe me the honore to beleiue that wheresoeuer I am you haue an affectionate cosin that wisheth you as much blessed happiness as your owne worthy harte can desire. And Atends ready to aproue hir selfe

Yo^{r} faithfull respectiue friend

Arbery, August the 14th. 1617. A. Newdigate.*

My Sonn presents his seruice to you & S^{r} Francis Englefeild; if either of you haue any interrest in Auditor Kinge, or one M^{r} Dorrington A Merchant, he married Auditore Kinges wiues Sister, I will presume to troble you in a bussiness to them. I pay'd the carier according to the direction, I write to left you Knowe thereof, least he should demaund it of you. I beseech you recomend my loueing salutations to M^{rs} Floud & M^{rs} Butler when you doe see them.

* Lady Newdigate was daughter of Edward Fitton Esq^{re} of Gawsworth, Cheshire, whose father or grandfather married a daughter of Sir Guiscard Harbotle whose other daughter Eleanor was married to Sir Thomas Percy, maternal grandfather to Sir Henry Slingsby. Lady Newdigate's eldest son here mentioned married Susan daughter of Arnold Luls, and died without surviving issue: her second son Richard was created Baronet July 24. 1677, and was Ancestor of the Founder of the Newdigate Prize in the University of Oxford.

XX.

[Sir] Henry Slingsby [Bart] to Sir Henry Slingsby Kn^t.

S^r

I doe as yet keepe my old Chamber and alsoe my chamber fellow M^r Fines nor doth not know until we know certainely of the young Earles his comming how we shall be lodged, but peradventure you know concerning that matter more then we. If my Lord do not comne I thinke I shall keepe weare I doe, if he doe I know not what will be donne. I hope Sir you will excuse me for not wrighting unto M^r Otbie, and as sowne as I can get oppurtunitie I will wright, and I hope if I have performed every thing according to your directions I am worthy to ride a great horse, Thus in haist S^r Archer staying for me, I take my leave and rest

My Siceings 16^d

Queens Colledge
this 3 Februarie
1618

Your very loving Sonne
H Slingesby

XXI.

Sir Henry Slingsby Kn^t to [Sir] Henry Slingsby [Bar^t.] at Queen's College Cambridge.

For ought I can perceaue by M^r Preston, their is noe danger but you maie still keepe your chamber,

which if you maie I can by no meanes consente you shall change it, for it is a verie faire one & stands verie conuenientlie: My lorde of Lyncolne* thoughe he be a greate Earle & come to the possession of his Estate, yett is he resolued to spende some more tyme at Cambridge, soe greate is his desier to learninge & to a religious course of lyfe: I am not a little gladd of this his resolucōn, For if his course be sober & religious, all the rest maie blushe if they doe not imitate him, & followe the colors of soe worthie a leader:

Your lr̄e to your brother by Ro: Burtons necligence did miscarie, & theirfore you had need supplie it with an other.

If the carier take to muche leisure in deliueringe my lr̄es chide him for it, for I paie him sufficientlie: If I doe not allwaies answeare your lr̄es by the same carier you must consider that the carier makes but a small staie at London

You must nowe endeuor your selfe to vnderstande the greate misterie of your saluacōn, & soe prepare your selfe in pietie & deuotion as you maie (by God's assistance) be fitte to receaue the com̄union at the nexte Easter:

Thinke well of it betymes, for it is a matter of greate and weightie considerācon.

* Theophilus Clinton fourth Earl of Lincoln had succeded to his title about a month before the date of this letter by the death of his father. See Collins sub tit.

Thuss farre I prepared this lr̄e before the arriuall of the carier:

I haue nowe receaued your lr̄e by tha carier the most perte whereof is all readie answeared: For your wryghtinge to M^{r} Otbie I maie excuse you for a while but long I can not & when you doe wryghte, wryghte soe as he maie well perceaue you haue learned to wryghte since you came to London: & you must wryghte to your sisters, some one weeke & some another:

I am not able to accuse you of anie thinge, & if you doe well, the best will be your owne & I shall be moste gladd of it & soe you maie haue anie thinge my Estate may afforde; but I wolde be gladd to heare it frome some others as well as frome your selfe, & yett I must confesse M^{r} Preston speakes well, butt he hathe had but a small tyme of experience: I was muche afraide my Lo: of Lyncolne wolde haue drawne him frome Cambridge, & then I shoulde haue thoughte your former ill fortune had still haunted you, but I hope it will be better:

I haue sent you 3 shirts & 6 napkins: The other thinges you desier shall God willinge be provided for you. I maie make excuse of haste because the carier* staies but one night in London & lies soe farre

* This Carrier was the noted Hobson: on one of Sir Henry the father's letters to his Son is written "Deliuer this at the bull within Bushops-gate to Hobson the carier of Cambridge who is paid for the carriage already."

frome me: But you can not, the carier stayinge 3 daies at Cambridge: And this is all I haue to wryghte at this time save comitte you to God & reste

Your louinge father

Fetter layne this 4.: of febr: 1618. Hen: Slyngisbie:

I will wrighte to Christ^r. Wayde the nexte weeke for I haue not tyme enoughe at this presente; I haue sente him his tronke.

XXII.

[Sir] Henry Slingsby [Bart.] to Sir Henry Slingsby Kn^t.

Sir,

Diogenes being asked wherefore he eate his dinner one the hight way, he answered because he was an hungry one the hight way, therefore if you should ask me why and wherefore I may get worse at one time than at another I answer because I am in more haist at one time than at another, but paradventure this excuse will not please you, therefore I will maintaine y^t noe longer but will crave pardon at your hands, and will (as sure as God gives me leave) to amend it. One

commending Nero for a fine dancer and a fine singer and manie other fine qualities, another that was by answered, all these doe wel so he neglect not the principal; therefore a man ought to respect all other things as outward ornaments in respect of that which adornes him both outwardly and inwardly I have noe newes to wright of onely that my Tutor hath gotten some 5 fellow Commonnes since my first coming, First there is 2 of Sir Hen: Yeluertons and 2 of S^{r} H: Capels sonnes nephew to S^{t} Arthur Caples sonnes and one Cooke a fellow Commoner, I doe not know what his Father is; my Tutor came home upon Thursday being the 25 of Februarie, Thus with my dutie remembred unto you I take my leave and rest

Your loving and obedient Sonne

Queenes Colledge this 3 of Mache 1618 — H Slingesby

XXIII.

Sir Henry Slingsby Kn^{t} to [Sir] Henry Slingsby [Bar^{t}] at Queen's College Cambridge.

I haue receaued your lr̃e & am well pleased bothe with the wryghtinge & the answeare, yett if you putt me in minde when I come at Cambridge I will shewe you in it some faltes, one whereof is either comitted

by necligence which is pardonable, or ells it is not your owne, for you doe not understande it: I sente you last weeke some vioII stringes but whether you receaued them or noe you make noe mention: I send you this weeke your foiles which M^r^ Dobson sente yesterdaie to my lodginge; whether anie thinge ells come this weeke or noe I am not certayne, for I haue beene verie busie: Prepare your lr̄es for Yorkeshire for Happelie I shall come upon you erre you be aware:

Their is one most mayne & principall matter which I haue by seuerall lr̄es touched whereunto you make noe answeare, I meane touchinge your preparation for the com̄union: I praie you thinke seriouslie of it, and remember that you come to feaste with the greate God of heaven, & lett your thoughtes & conversacōn be answeareable to soe precious a banquett. You haue a Tutor soe able & I hope soe willinge to instruct you, as I maie be more sparinge: I praie you harken well to him: And forgett not to be thankefull to him that suffered soe muche for vs; Althoughe we oughte at all seasons in the yeare to remember it & haue iust cause soe to doe yett this beinge the tyme of the yeare which God had appointed for that our soe happie deliuerance, we haue soe muche the more cause at this tyme to be mindfull of it; & therein praise God for his infinite goodnes towardes vs & lamente our sines that caused the innocente to suffer for the nocente.

Serue God & he will not faile you to whose goodnes I recomende you & vs all & reste

Your verie louinge father

Fetter layne this Hen: Slyngisbie:

4: of Marche: 1618.

By the multitude of your Tutors pupills you maie well perceiue their is some matter of worthe in him.

XXIV.

[Sir] Henry Slingsby [Bar^t] to Sir Henry Slingsby Kn^t.

Sir,

I have according to your direction spoken with a Talor concerning my Goune and he hath given me a note of such things as we must buy which is heere enclosed. I know not how it may please you but I hope it shall be noe other then right I caused him to cast it according to the bredth of Turkey Grogroune because theres noe stuffe will do better in Blacke then y^t Thus w^t my dutie remembered unto you I rest

Your verie loving

Queenes Col this 24 and obedient sonne

of April 1619 H Slingesby

S^r^

I hope I shall have a sute of apparel suteable to my goune for, tanta vis est in necessitate ut nec dij ipsi reluctari possint.

XXV.

Sir Henry Slingsby Kn^t^. to [Sir] Henry Slingsby [Bar^t^.] at Queen's College Cambridge.

I have receaued your lr̄e by M^r^. Geeres togeather with your note of instruccions for your gowne, which arises as you see to a great deale of monie, and yett I find that vj^d^. the yearde will not buye the lase: But that you receaued anie lr̄es or anie shirtes from me you wryghte nothinge: I have admonished you hearetofore that when you receaue anie thinge you shoulde at least take knowledge of the receipte thoughe it be not worthie thankes, & if it be worthie thankes you oughte to remember that alsoe, as in this case of sendinge your shirtes without being putt in minde frome you, that I am sure deserved some acknowledgement thoughe not soe much for the shirtes as for the remembrance of yours, Besides I haue putt you in mynde formerlie that when you answeare anie lr̄es you shoulde laie before you the lr̄es you had receaued & to euerie pointe theirof make some answeare; but of 2 lr̄es I wrote by the laste carier conteyninge manie pointes I have no

answere at all notwithstandinge that in my lres I doe desier answeare: Such instruccons as I, shall giue you oughte better be regarded especiallie not being ill, because they come frome me, thoughe otherwise it were indifferent whether yon did it or not:

Notwithstandinge the greate price your gowne will come vnto yett by the nexte carier you shall god willinge receaue all suche thinges as are mentioned in your note: but weare it not but abroade when you goe to the churches or schooles & then you maie allsoe weare your better sewte: when you goe abroade to ride or walke to take ayre your woorse gowne will suffice: Bid your Tayler make it longe enoughe, for you haue yett a yeare or towe to growe in.

I doe by the carier at this tyme receiue no lres, & I expected some frome Mr. Preston, but it maie be he is in towne for I thinke I sawe my lo: of Lyncolne: If you can finde a fitt man for your iourneye into France I woulde giue him a benefice & beare his chardges; if you can thinke of anie wryghte vnto me that I maie enquier better after him, for I wolde haue him religious discrete & frugall; for all these are necessarie for such a iourney.

And soe prayinge you above all thinges remember to serue god I commende you to his protection & rest.

Your verie louinge father:
Hen: Slyngisbie,
30: April. 1619.

If M^r. Preston be at Cambridge & not come to London, tell him I expecte to heare some what frome him:

XXVI.

[Sir] Henry Slingsby [Bar^t.] to Sir Henry Slingsby kn^t.

S^r.

The fault is not the Carrier's but myne owne (yet excusable) for the last weeke I was somewhat busie about my Chamber having some obstackles whereby it went not forward which as yet is scarce got away and y^e weeke before I receaved both lēr̄s and a perfumiug pott but I did not receave it till I had sent you your lēr̄s.

S^r Archer is at the verie point w^ch way to fall therefore I can wright noe certaintie yet I have sent you y^t lēr̄s again which was without superscription w̄^ch nowe I hope hath y^t marke y^t will serve for your direction although before it was thorow negligence being sealed w^t in your lers before I remembred it— Thus w^t my dutie remembred and your blessing craved in hast I take my leave and rest

Queenes Col this
21 of June 1619

Your loving and obed sonne
H. Slingesby

I have much more to write
quæ nunc perscribere longum
est in respect of the time

XXVII.

[Sir] Henry Slingsby [Bar^t.] to Sir Henry Slingsby Kn^t..

S^r

Your letters after I had perus'd them affected me w^t a double passion, joy, to heare what contentment my letters gave you, yet sorow to heare that you are soe incredulous as not to beleeve it to be my enditing, yet withall that Sorrow brought Joy to me againe Considering what Contentment they gave you when I my selfe being most sure it was of my enditing. But you neede not doubt of it, for of all manner of stiles I can best conceave of golden eloquence and it is that w^c can sharpen the dullest witts (if it please you, you may periculum facere)

Sir Archer tould me it was your pleasure if I thought it fitting to beginne to ridde y^e Greate Horse againe, Therefore I determaine (my boldnesse being grounded upon y^e assurance of your favour) to beginne upon Munday being the 20^th of September, M^r Paine being desirous, he having noe Scholers and all soe having gotte a new Horse. Thus w^t my dutie remembred and your blessing craued I take my leave

Your lov: and obed: sonne

Queenes Coll: this H. Slingesby

15^th of September [1619]

XXVIII.

[Sir] Henry Slingsby [Bar^t] to Sir Henry Slingsby Kn^t

S^r

It was not y^t I slightly esteam'd those Mapps you sent me y^t caused me to wright soe as I did, but rather to aggravate the carriers faulte, who soe peremptoriely did answer me that I had like both to have spent my time and lost my labor. But now having enjoy'd them magno cum periculo I would intreate you (as a second triall) to send me the mape of Asia Hoping y^t you will rather impute it as a mistake in your selfe then a faulte in me knowing, Quod nihil esse, quin male interpretando possit depravari. Thus w^t my dutie remembred and your blessing craved I take my leave

Your lov: and Obed: sonne

Q: C. this [October. 1619] H Slingesby

For y^e measure, the Talor is loth to be a hinderer to him selfe. therefore I thought it expedient (sed pace dicam tuo) to let it rest till I come to London.

XXIX.

Anne Slingsby to her father Sir Henry Slingsby Knt

Sir,

I have formerly wretten to you for your Joyners sicknes, and then I was at Allne, but when I came home I founde him deade which I lettell expected to hav don: for hee was with me at my chamber not aboue a weeke before I went to Allne, and I was but a weeke their: indeede I ded fere that his desese would be his death, but I thought that hee would haue continued a great deale longer, for there is diuers in this towne that hath the same desease and hath had it this tweluemounth and is yet alive: but this can hee doe in whose hands wee ar all: hee died the Day before I came home; and the next morning I sent for Richard Miming that wee might haue som satisfaction for the mone that hae had of you; and before hee came I went to the Weddow my selfe, and there I found your poulpet* standing in the shop, but not finished be four: their was with her one of her owne brothers and another of her Husbands: which vndertowke for hir.

So I tolked with them and thay semed verry willing that you shuld be satisfied, and what as was be gone of yours they would put to a joyner to fenish: and Nickolous Hole should haue donit: and

* Now remaining in the Chapel at Red-House.

when Richard came he went to them, but Nicholous Hole did refues to vnder take to make the Pulpet like to belfras* for that mone that you agreede with the other: so the Widdow and her brotheres hath promised that tow worke men shall be hired into the house to her, that shall finish the pulpet and two pesees for chimles that is likewise be gone. And if these com to more than your mone y° to make it out, if they com not to so much Shee will pay you the rest: but I fere hir Husband hath left hir in more det then yours: but where as you write that saum hath tould you that he was a torner and nō Joyner, in truth I know to the contrary, for he was Prentes with the Joyner that wanscotted your Parler: but I fere the Widdow will die tow, for she is grete with Child, and hath been sicke ever sence hir Husband dide.

When I wen to Allne I left word with my man to cole of the carriar for Letters, and if there were any to send them to mee, and when he received them Richard Miming was by, so they opened the Packet, and Richard towke all but my owne my Sister elner's and my cosen tankards and my man sent his boy to gremstan with my cosen Tankards; so they were all deleured with as much speede as could be, but one which had no superscription, and that allso they sent to me, and I opened it and found it to be as I

* i. e. like that in the Belfras, or Belfrey, Church in York.

thought to Mathaw Henlock, and I hired one to care it to him:

I have deliuered your flours to M^rs^ Neuell my selfe; She was going to the manner, and Shee sade She thought the [they] would be a great dante to tne Ladies: and thus with my humble duty remembered I rest

Your obedyent doughter

aprell the xi day [1621] Anne Slingsby

That lece mee cosen Conyers tould you of is not now to be had.

XXX.

Sir Henry Slingsby kn^t^. to [Sir] Henry Slingsby [Bar^t^.]

I have receaved your Lr̃e, & will god willinge verie shortlie finde some meanes to sende Mr. Preston some monie & will likewise as shortlie as I can provide you some chirtes. In stead of news I sende you another booke; yett thus muche for newes; my lo* chancellor was this daie censured to goe to the tower duringe the Kinges pleasure, for fine & ransome £40,000, never to have office or place in the comon welthe, never to sitt in parlament, nor come within

* Bacon. See Mr. Bazil Montague's preface to his edition of Bacon.

the verge of the courte after he be released of his imprisoment.

But the opinion is he will not live, for he was not able to come to receave his sentence, being sente for by a sergeant at Armes to heare his Jugdement. Thus you maie see the juste rewarde of Wicked Corruption. And soe I comitte you to God & reste your lov: father

3 Maye 1621. Hen. Slyngisbie.

Your brother stapiltō hathe a nephieue the sonne of Mr. Thos. Talbott in woorcestershier: he wolde gladlie recomende him to your Tutor if their maie be a lodginge for him in the Colledge againste mychs: Speake with your Tutor & wryghte his opinion of it.

XXXI.

[Sir] Henry Slingsby [Bar^t.] to Sir Henry Slingsby kn^t.

S^r

Touching the Answer to your Letter and first concerning my studies and those Acts in Towne, whereat, although heeretofore I have bene somewhat negligent, partly because I did not understand them and partly because of other studies w^c althow they weare of lesse moment yet of more Consequence to me: Rostra diserti amat pueriq crepundia gestant. I meane in respect of any maturitie of judgement. But as I doe find the sweetnesse of them, soe doe I now frequent them,

that I may say of my selfe with out ostentation as Seneca sayth, nullus nihi per otium dies exit, partem noctis studijs dedico, non vero somno, sed oculos vigilia fatigatos cadentesq in operam detineo.

I was upon Twesday morning at S^{t} Maries Church to heare M^{r} Wincopes concio clerum who did very well and w^{t} greate applause and soe every day at one act or other. Quis me uno viuit fœlicior? aut magis hac est optandum vita dicere quis poterit.

As for that Gentilman you writt of I have spoke to my Tutor about him and he gave me this answer, that he never tooke Pupell but upon tow conditions. First that they should be an elder brother, 2, of a stayd sober carrage, upon these 2 conditions he is ready to doe him all the good he can. As for my Brother I writt unto him the last weeke enclosed in Hugh Bethells letter but I have receaved noe answer.

My Tutor doth fully intend to goe, and soe doe I (since it hath pleased you to lett me goe) even flagrare desiderio in consideration how usefull a iourney it will be, & profitable, onely he would intreate you to be very private in procuring a licence lease any know. I shall be ready against wensday after the commencement, at such time as you shall send. Thus w^{t} my dutie Remembred and your blessing craved I take my leave and Rest

Queen Colledge this 13 of Ju: 1621

Your loving and obed: Sonne
Hen. Slingesby

XXXII.

Arthur Ingram to Sir Henry Slingsby knt.

Sir,

I have not much nuse to wright you by resone that the parliment hath not yett concluded on any thing; I have heare inclosed sent you a Letter* from the King to the Lords w^h^ hath bred a great debate in the upper house and lower house, and is not yett resoul^d^ on; in my oppinion thay trench very deape on the King's prerogative, w^ch^ I admire the King will suffer, but I see necessity not clemmency is the cause.

I shall be able to wright you the hole passeiges by the end of this weake, for by that time all things will be concluded by reson of the Kings going to porchmouth on fridaye; hee seems to bee very sad, and much discontented by reson of my lord denbyes ill success att Rochell, for hee was sent to relive Rochell, but when he came ther, thay found some smale hinderrance wch as thay saye woud have indangered the Kings Shipes, therfor thay are retourned back w^th^out doing any thing; but the King is sore incenced and sayeth

"* The Lords at a conference acquaint the Commons with a letter from the King to them, wherein he insists much upon some cases of commitment so transcendant that they may not be discovered; which are above the capacity of the Judges." Whitlock's Memorials, [1628.] p. 10.

that hee was never soe dishounored; and therfore hath sent awaye to staye them from landing, and he hath vowed that iff thay do not give him good sattisfaction he will hang up fore or five of the best commanders: thay saye my *Lord Duke goe to relive Rochell himselfe on fridaye, for thay saye that if thay come not sone itt will be taken; ther famine is soe great thay can hould out noe longer: god iff itt bee his will send us good nuse, and soe w^th^ my humble duty to you I rest

Your ever dutifull and loving
Sonne in Law:

the 22 of Maye [1628] Ar: Ingram.

Thay saye the King of ffrance sent the Rochellers three flages, a white, a red, and a black flage to chuse, and thay saye they are resolved to chuse the blacke.

*The Duke of Buckingham was assassinated at Portsmouth on St. Bartholomew's day, [August 24] by Felton. The King received the news during the service of the church on that day, at Sir Daniel Norton's, at Southwick, near Portsmouth.

XXXIII.

Lord Wentworth [Strafford] to Sir Henry Slingsby Knt.

Sr

I esteem myself much beholden unto you for the paines you tooke the last sitting, in wch trust you did soe well dischardge your self towards his Maties seruice, that I must intreate the continuance of yor good indeauoures therein this sitting likewise; my former letter being still in force, and soe your self as formerly vice president to all intentts. I have written to the Counsell to giue them notice therof and that all things may be in a readinesse for you as formerly and soe wth my true loue remembered unto you I rest

Yor very faithfull friend
and cosin
Wentworth.

Westminster
this 9th of June 1629.

XXXIV.

Lord Wentworth [Strafford] to Sir Henry Slingsby K^nt

After my hartie comendacons. For as much as beinge imployed here in his Ma.^te affaires I am necessarilie to bee yet absent out of the iurisdiccon of the Comission for the north. To the intent neuerthelesse that their maie bee at Yorke (duringe my absence) a fitt person to direct all thinges in such order and forme as my selfe should or might doe by vertue of his Mat^s comission and instruccons.

I doe therfore name and appoint you S^r Henry Slingsby Knight and one of his Mat^s Counsell in the North parts to bee vice president of the said Counsell duringe this time of my said absence; desiringe you duringe the said time to keepe sittinge with the members of Counsell thervnto appointed. And to doe and execute all other thinges which to the office and place of vice president doth appertaine: As also that you use the said Counsell in all respects accordinge to their degrees and qualeties as is fittinge. And I haue not onely taken order for the diett of your selfe and seruants, but haue also giuen notice unto the rest of the Counsell and all other officers that they doe in all things use you in like sort and with such reuerence as by his Ma^te said Instruccons they bee bound to doe.

Lastly whereas at the time when my cosin Radcliffe tooke his oath for his place, the oath of Supremacie was omitted, I desire you and the rest of the Counsell to administer the same unto him. Thus nothinge doubtinge but you will diligentlie attend his Mat^{s} seruise in this behalfe, I bidd you farewell, from Westm^{r} the Twentieth daie of June 1629.

Yo^{r} very asseured affectionate
friende & Kinsman
Wentworth.*

XXXV.

Sir Geo Radcliffe to Sir Henry Slingsby Kn^{t}.

S^{r}.

I moued my Lord President concerninge y^{r} meetinge of y^{e} Lord Mayor at y^{e} musters: my Lo: Pres: thinkes that my Lo: Maior will neuer question y^{r} place but yeild it to you without scruple, for undoubtedly y^{u} are to have the same place w^{ch} belongs to my Lord himselfe. But if y^{u} find my Lorde Maior to sticke att it, my Lord would haue you to

* There is extant a similar letter of deputation from Lord Wentworth to Sir Henry, dated "from the Mannor of Yorke the twelft of January 1630." Both this and that are not in Lord Wentworth's handwriting but are signed by him.

take y^e^ musters alone w^th^ out my Lord Maior, will be accepted of as if both were there.

You canne heardly show your selfe abroad in y^r^ Priuate capacity during the tyme of y^r^ Vice Presidentship.

S^r^. I haue no more but to present unto y^o^ faithfull respect of.

Your affectionate Seruant

Grayes Inne. Geo: Radcliffe.*

feb. 16. 1630.

XXXVI.

Viscount Wentworth [Strafford] to Sir Henry Slingsby Kn^t^.

S^r^

In discharge of my promise in the Postcript of my last letter, this shall be in answeare of thos wch I re-

* Sir George Radcliffe was born at Overthorpe in Yorkshire, was made Attorney General of the Council of the north by Lord Strafford, and afterwards Secretary of State in Ireland. There is a letter of his to the Bishop of Derry [Bramhall] in the "Rawdon Papers" No. xxxvii, on the Kings Prerogative and the validity of orders, which is of much interest. He drew up an Essay towards the life of the Earl of Strafford in a letter to the Earl's Son and Successor, which was published at the end of D^r^ Knowler's "Earl of Strafforde's Letters and Dispatches," 1739. He died at Flushing May 25. O. S. 1657 in the Sixty-fifth year of his age, an uncompromising Churchman and Loyalist in the worst times.

ceaved from you, concerning that Punctillo my lo: maior is pleased to stande w^th^ you upon; in the whole cariadge whearof I am much to thank you.

I pray you then tell my lo: maior, I am sorry to see him soe apt to take hold of such threeds as this whearupon to hange his differences betwixt him and me; his I terme them, in regarde I trust the citty will never enter such a controversy w^th^ me that have voluntarily laid a sleepe questions of a higher nature w^th^ them, and that have dun the citty as much honour and respectt, or at least desired to doe, as any that have ben ther President before me.

Ther is nothing in the world more plaine in wordes in the instructions, w^ch^ doe in expresse termes decide it, so as I dare say they might as well question me for the place as my vice president. What soever shall reflectt upon the vice President, must I be sensible of, truely as sensible, as if itt concerned myself, and over and above let them remember themselves, wheather in the Minster, the vice president or the maior goe first out of the churche; or wheather they thinke the vice president standing with the Judges of assize for Place, nay having it ordered on his side by the council borde, the Judges might take it ill he should quitt that to the maior w^ch^ he denies them. But I will not repeate much matter w^th^ them, for that seperates friendshipp; only I cannot chuse but advise them to nourishe gen^l^ respectt and kindnesse betwixt our selves, ratherly declining the occasions of differ-

ence, then thus taking hold of them for shew; itt shall doubtlesse be wisedum in us all to doe soe, and if wee follow our owne unruly passions the other way, wee shall all be loosers, and it may be they shall in the end finde themselves greater loosers then myself For beleeve mee if wee enter disputes it must not be for this alone, but for all together; and lett them knowe, that by vertue of my Presidentshipp, not as I am Lieutenant, doe I preseade all Earles, nay all subjects wthin the Jurisdiction, and as my self, soe the Vice President in my absence.

Yet that you may be preserved in the rights of your Place, and they not concluded, I would have you offer them this expedient: you shall take the vew of armes this time alone, wthout trouble to the lord Mayor, w^{ch} allbeit not soe legall, yet hath ther been out of other necessities w^{ch} occurred diuers musters soe taken in other Places, and soe for once may passe well enoughe; if ther be any new chardge to be imposed upon any new man, before you make any alteration att this time you shall out of respectt to the Maior, make him privately acquainted therewth, take his advice, and assent therunto and for the future I shall prouide so as never to fall into any occasion of difference wth them againe in this kind.

I pray you that you would if you doubte any thing in thes directions to pause thereupon; consult wth the Councill and if they dislike any partte of this, then, before you proceed further, be pleased to

write up presently heather, that what may chance to be amisse may be rectified; I put in this bycause one of your letters mentions a statute w^ch^ may concerne this businesse w^ch^ I know not of nor doe not imagin what it should importt.

Finally I entreate you send me backe a coppy of this letter, for in good faith I have not leisure to take a coppy myself, hardly yet truly to write myself

Yor ever affectionat faithfull

Westminster Cosin and friend

this 21^st^ of Marche Wentworth

1630

You have been the longer w^th^out this answeare to your former letters, in regarde I did expectt to have heard from the Maior, and that they would not have quarrelled [with] you, and in you, myself, and yet have been silent towards me in the matter, w^ch^ I take not well, and soe you may tell them, and you may shew them this letter if please you.

XXXVII.

Lady Slingsby to Lord Fauconberg.

My Lord,

I am desyrous by every occation to p^e^sent my humbell duty to your Lo^p^: & with it my humble thanks

for y^r^ fatherley care which you have ever had for my good, but especially in this your last action, to give me to so good a husband, whose condition is so good and loving to mee as I assure my selfe we shall neither of us have cause to repente.

I much desyre to heare of y^r^ Lo^ps^ saftye in yo^r^ iorney and continewance of health w^ch^ I shall daly pray for, that you may live to bestow my sisters to as much comforth as you have don me: thus deesyring y^r^ blessinge I take leave

Yo^r^ lo^sps^: ever obeadent daughter

[probably 1631] Bar: Slingesbye

XXXVIII.

Viscount Wentworth [Strafford] to Sir Henry Slingsby Kn^t^.

S^r^

If my occasions were not soe many and pressing as indeed you rightly apprehend them by yo^r^ Letter of the fift of July last, you cold not thus long have wanted the return of my thankfull acceptance of the expressions of your reall affections, wherewith that Letter is soe repleate. Nor cold these lynes haue satisfied mee to have passed from under any other hand then my owne towards a friend I soe much respect and valew as your selfe, had not the busi-nesses of this parliament, added to those other

numerous affairs of the kingdome, so wholly taken upp my tyme as very often deny'd mee the libertie to eate my meate. I must therfore desyre you to favor mee with your beleefe, that albeitt I may bee thus preuented, yet shall I not, nor can I bee detayned, when I may (eyther to yo^r selfe or friends for yo^r sake) give the best testimonyes of my being

Your most faithfull and

Dublyn Castle affectionat Cosin and freiend

the 14^th of Sept^r 1634 Wentworth *.

XXXIX.

D^r Duncon to Sir Henry Slingsby Bar^t.

Noble Sir

I was at Redhouse to waite vpon you, and missinge you ther, I was directed hither, and I am sorry that I missed you here againe so narrowly. My business was to haue conferd with you about Knaresbrough Viccarige, and to desire you to doe that which I know your own vertue will prompt you to without any outward invitation, namely to present a worthy,

* Lord Strafford in signing his letters styles himself "Cosin" to Sir Henry; but there was not (apparently) any blood relationship between them. The connexion was probably this; Lord Strafford married Margaret, daughter of Francis Earl of Cumberland and great granddaughter of Henry Earl of Cumberland and Margaret, daughter of Henry Percy Earl of Northumberland, maternal grandfather to Sir Henry (see Genealogy).

learned, religious, conformable man vnto it, which will give mee as much satisfaction to the full as if with your favour I had my selfe in my owne right presented such an one. I was right glad to heare from my worthy freind M^r^ Thurscrosse (when I met him at London last Tearme) that you had intreated him to nominate a fitt man to you for that place, and I hope you will persist in that way and not present on the suddaine; for you need make noe hast for feare of mee presentinge one before you, (as I heare my predecessor did) for if in the Lease you haue thes words, with all and singular appurtenances, bee inserted (as I thinke they are, but I know not certainly having not this long while perused it) then I beleive you have the full and onely Title, to which I submitt with my former humble request to you for an able and a sufficient man in all respects. The towne stands in neede of such an one in regard of the largenes of it, and the great resort to it in summer time by reason of the wells.

The Value of the Viccarige I know not, but if it bee as I heare worth about 100£ a yeare, then many a Bachelour in Divinity in either Vniversity will readily accept of it who will discharge the place to your good likinge & mine. And you know S^r^ it highly concerns vs two (who have the Glebe & great Tithes ther) to provide to the best of our power for the good and commendable discharge of that Cure. I would most gladly haue spoken with you but I am vpon a necessary Journey into Nottinghamshire, and

can not follow you to Knaresborough. If you please to rely on M^r^ Thurscross his commendation of one to you I beseech you to signify so much to mee in one word, (your lett^r^. may be left at D^r^ Stanhop's in Yorke) and I shall allso write to him, not that I have a designe vpon any particular man (for in trueth I haue none) but onely to tell him that I shall not molest his quiet possession. It is reported that you intend to giue it to one M^r^ Cheny a young man: I beseech you S^r^ even for Gods love to his Church not to give it him, vnless you in your owne conscience be perswaded vpon good grounds that he is able in all points to discharge the place to the honour of God and the Edification of his Church.

But I presume too much vpon Your patience, and by my tediousnes may seeme to doubt of your nobleness and care in providing for the place.

I pray pardon my boldnes which I know you will doe if you consider that the burden of providinge for that Cure lyes partly vpon my shoulders as it doth chiefly vpon yours: and I shall pray that in that, and in all other your affaires Gods blessing may ever bee vpon you & his holy spirit direct you, to whose holy Guidance & Government, I commend you and rest

(S^r^)

Your humble servant

Awne this 16^th^ of June 1642.

to bee comanded

Ele: Duncon.

XL.

To the right Hono^ble: the Lord Maior for the Cittie of Yorke and to the right woop^ll the rest of the Committee for the said Cittie and Countie of the same.

The humble Petition of Thomas, Henry and Barbara Slingesby children of S^r Henry Slingesby of Redhouse w^th in the said County Barronett,

Who shew that they were borne at Red-howse and have been their brought vpp ever since and are yet their remayninge vnable by the tendernesse of their yeares to provid for thenselues and haue noe mother liveinge and their father at this p'sent absent from them:

That all their fathers lands lyinge w^thin the Aynsty and sequestred and nothinge allowed to yo^r petitio^rs foorth of same for their mayntenance

The humble desires of yo^r petitio^rs are that they may haue their fathers howse called Redhowse allowed to them for their habitation, it beinge their place of byrth and the onely dwellinge habitable howse their father hath in possession. And that they may haue a ffifthe pte of their ffaithers sd lands lying w^th in the Aynsty allowed to them for their mayntenance, the same to be allotted foorth of the lands lyinge about Redhowse.

and they shall pray &c.

This Petition is endorsed at one end as follows.

xxj° August 1645

By the standing comittee for the Cittie of Yorke and Countie of the same

Their must be a pticuler of all the lands and the rentall and valewe of each to be certified and then consideracon wilbe had of the peticon and the first order from the gen'all comittees is to be pduced.

Tho: Pettie cler.

These injunctions must have been obeyed, for at the other end this petition is endorsed as follows.

Septem
1645

By the standing Comittee for the Cittie of Yorke and County of the same

It is ordered that pte of S^r^ Henrie Slingsbies howse at redhowse shalbe sett oute by the sequestrators for the habitacon of his children & their Attendance and that the said children shall haue an eighte pte of the clere rents & pfitts w^ch^ shall hereafter be maid of the lands of the said S^r^ Henrie wthin the Aincestie to be paid by the Sequestrators

Tho Pettie Cler

XLI.

[*Sir Marmaduke Langdale to Sir Henry Slingsby Bar*t. 1648]

S^{r}.

Let this giue you a just accoumpt of my last imploynt, w^{ch} is now ended, being a Prisoner in Nottingham Castle, where hitherto I haue receiued most civile usage. You are not ignorant of y^{e} condition I was in at Settle & Gigleswicke Aug: 13, haueing about 3000 foote & 600 horse, where receiveing intelligence y^{t} y^{e} Parliamt^{s} forces were form'd into one Body & marching towards mee I imediatly repaired to Duke Hamilton at Horneby & acquainted him therewith, whereupon he determined to advance towards Preston that his Armie (being numerous in foote) might haue the greater aduantage ypon y^{e} enemie in those inclosed countreys: vpon w^{ch} result I drew my men neare Clethero towards Preston; & in my march I happened upon my Lo. Calender & diuers of y^{e} Scottish officers quartered in my way, with whome it was resolued for a march to Preston, although for y^{e} p'sent their intelligence was that the Par: forces were divided, some part whereof was dispatcht to Coln and so to Manchester, being intended for a releife to y^{t} Towne in case we should presse upon it with any of o^{r} Men; this report begot much security in y^{e} Scotch officers, but they both

neglected repayring to Preston & continued their quartering wide in y^e^ Countrey;

But that same night I was credibly informed y^t^ .... Cromwell with all his army was within 3 miles of my Quart^rs^, w^ch^ intelligence I hasted away to y^e^ Duke, & myselfe told it to y^e^ L^d^ Leviston, willing him to acquaint L^t^ Gen: Middleton therewith, and, drawing up my forces in a feild, I marched towards Preston betimes in the morning, where I found y^e^ Duke & y^e^ L^d^ Callender with most part of y^e^ Scottish foote drawne up, whose resolution was to March to Wiggan, giueing little credit to y^e^ Intelligence that came the night before; insomuch that their horse was suffered to quarter 10 or 12 miles distant from their foote. Within halfe an houre of o^r^. meeting, and by that time I was drawne up in y^e^ closes neare Preston, the Enemy appeared with a small body of horse, (the Scots still continueing their resolution for Wiggan drew their foote over the bridge) who comeing the same way y^t^ I had, fell upon my quarters, & so ingaged mee; where we continued disputing it 6 houres, in all w^ch^ time the Scots sent me no releife

& y^e^ forces y^t^ were left for my supply continued in y^e^ Reare of my men, neither comeing up for my releife, nor faceing the Enemie; but in bringing up their owne Reare: when most part of the Scots were secured over y^e^ bridge, the Parliam^ts^ forces pressed upon mee in y^e^ van and flanckes.

but a few horse (& indeed they had not many there) w^ch^ were soone beaten.

* If I had but had a 1000 men to haue flancked y^e^ Enemy I doub^t^ not but y^e^ day had bin ours. Yet still I kept my post though with various successe, many times winning & gathering ground on y^e^ enemy; the Scots thems. acknowledgeing they never saw any foote fight better then mine did. The Duke being yet incredulous that it was the whole Armie sent S^r^ Lewis Dives to me for my opinion herein; to whom I made answere that it was improbab^le^ any forces which were inconsiderable would adventure to presse so much upon so great an Armie as we had & therefore he might conclude it was all the power y^ei^ could make, with w^ch^ they were resolued to put all to y^e^ hazzard; and therefore I desired I might be seconded with men & supplied with Amunition, haueing already spent nine Barrells; but none were sent mee. Still the Scots continue their march ouer the River, & not securing a lane neare y^e^ bridge, the Enemy came upon my flanckes & driue mee into y^e^ Towne where the Duke was with some few horse, who retreated ouer a ford to his foote, & left mee with the horse in the Towne. After y^e^ losse of my

* "And S^r^. Marmaduke Langdale told me often afterwards, that he verily believed, if one thousand Foot had then been sent to him, he should have gained the day: and Cromwell himself acknowledged, that he never saw Foot fight so desperately as they did." Clarendon, Book xi. p. 162. Vol. iii. Part. i.

foote the Scots were presently beaten from y^e^ bridge, ouer w^ch^ the Parliam^t^ forces marching the [they] had soone filled all the lanes that we could not come to the foote, but were forced to Charlow [Chorley] where we found L^t^. Gen: Middleton ready to advance with his horse towards Preston, w^ch^ he did, but finding the foote not there, he retreated towards Wiggan where the Duke was with his foote: (mine being totally lost:) there they take resolution to goe to my L^d^ Byron, & intend that night for Warrington w^ch^ they could not doe, the Par^mts^ forces falling so fast into their Reare. The next day, entring Warrington L^t^. Gen: Middleton finding hims: unable to withstand y^e^ enemie, left the foote in y^e^ Towne to make their owne condicions; and marched with his horse towards Malpas, in w^ch^ march 6 of y^e^ Scottish Lords left us, whereof the Lord Traqueer was one, who surrendered themselues to y^e^ Sheriefe of Shropshire: who likewise sent two Countrey Gentlemen to offer the Duke y^e^ same quarter: from Malpas wee marched to Drayton, & so to Stone, & in o^r^ march from thence to Uttexer the Par: forces fell upon y^e^ reare and tooke L^t^. Gen^ll^. Middleton at Uttexer.

The next morneing attendeing the Duke for his resolution, I found him extreame sicke & not able to march. My Lord Callender seemed to refuse all wayes of Treaty, chooseing rather to march Northward, where we had a considerable body & the

whole Kingdome of Scotland at our backe; Upon this we advanced over y^e^ River towards Asburne.

I had the van & was marching with about 100 horse w^ch^ were onely left mee; p'sently my Lord Callender overtooke mee without his cloake hardly escaping from y^e^ Scots who had given his horse a pricke, (as he inform'd mee) & intended to haue march't along with mee, seeing no forces else would follow. I pswaded his Ld^p^ that it was better to returne, I not being able to protect him, seeing the Scots had disserted mee: I was therefore resolued to sever & shiffte every man for himselfe, but capitulate I could not with a safe conscience.

After some little discourse he returned to his forces & I march't towards Nottingham where those few I had (not aboue 102) tooke severall wayes. I got y^t^ night over Trent & came to an house six miles from Nott: where myselfe, Coll Owen, L^t^. Coll. Galliard & Major Constable thought to haue passed as Parliamteers, but were discovered & are now in Nottingham.*

* This letter has no signature, but is endorsed in Sir Henry's hand, "1648. S^r^. Marmaduke Langdaile. the relation of the Battell w^th^ the Scotts at Preston."

XLII.

Sir John Maney to Sir Henry Slingsby Bar^t.

S^r

My fortunate Messinger Judith hath exceedingly cheered upp my Principalls w^th the welcome newes of your Welfayre, and to cheere upp yours, The Newes is, that our most hopefull King is received at Brussells w^th huge Galantries, Intends (by the way of France) for Dubling In Ierland, wch will be ready for his Coorte In Peace about 20 days henc (God willing) according to the Intelligenc of Late Credible Letters. All Kings and Princes are very redy to serve the King for his reestablishment In his just Fathers Throne.

The Scot beeseeches his Maiesty once more to trust them, and promises high; tis thought the King will beelieave them, but on safe termes; If trowbles arise neere you, let my Cottage bee happy w^th your presence, and doubt not but I shall serve you w^th that fidelity as becomes

Your moste Reall affectionate
faythfull servant
J M.*

20 June
1649

* This letter is endorsed in Sir Henry's hand "S^r John Maney 1649."

XLIII.

To the Honourable Will: Lenthull Esquire speaker of the Parliament.

M^r^ Speaker

Having lately received from the Parliament a new Commission as generall of these and so determining my former, I saw it was fitt for mee seriously to consider how I might with a good conscience take that trust, and imployment upon me; But finding debilities both in body and minde, occasioned by former actions and businesses, hath caused mee not to be free to undertake this new chance, so as I cannot but humbly desire to be excused of it, and that you would be pleased to represent this to the

* This is a copy, endorsed in Sir Henry Slingsby's hand, "Lord Fairfax's letter to the Speaker of Parliament." The day on which this letter is dated is the very day on which the conference took place between Lord Fairfax, and a Committee. "The Counoil of State somewhat troubled at his excellency's scruples appointed Cromwell, Lambert, Harrison, S^t^ John and myself a Committee to confer hereupon with Fairfax; and to endeavour to satisfy him of the Justice and lawfulness of this undertaking, [the expedition against Scotland.] The committee met with the Lord General Fairfax, and, being shut up together in a Room in Whitehall, they went first to prayer, that God would direct them in this Business; and Cromwell began, and most of the committee prayed, after which they discoursed to this effect," &c. Whitelock's Memorials, p. 460.

Parliament; w^ch^ I hope will be received with that cleirnesse which is intended; And that this may be no occasion of any ill effect, I pray God, what is wanting in mee, he will make up in his goodnesse, that his name may haue praise, and his people hearts to sett up his honor in this nation which, is the Prayer of

Your Most Humble Servant

June 25 1650 Tho: Fairfax.

XLIV.

Sir Francis Slingsby kn^t^ to Sir Henry Slingsby Bar^t^.

Hono^rd^. S^r^.

Yo^u^ Knowe that I was descended of the same blood w^th^ the rest of my fathers Children and though he did Asygne me but a* smale Annuitie out of such a faire Estate as he lefte, I being then but a boy had small consideracō of it, but thought I must looke

* The following is a memorandum in Sir Henry Slingsby the Elder's account book, March 1628,

"M^du^: That out of my Rent at London: viz of M^r^: drurie xv^li^ & M^r^ Clerke xiiij^li^ dewe at Thanūt [The Annunciation] 1628 & Rec^d^: by S^r^ Willm Slingesbie their was 20^li^: allowed him for my brother ffrans his whole yeares Anuytie ended at the said Anūt:"

abroad into the world to better my fortunes, as I had seene diuers others before me had done; and it pleased God to blesse my endeavours that I attained to a good fortune, never thirstinge ambissciously after more hono^{r} nor covetously of moe estate: I doe not repine that others haue resieued a larger pportio out of a lesser estate, And castinge myself wholly upon yo^{u} at my first cōminge heather, and excussinge my selfe unto yo^{u} that I was forst to fly into yo^{r} Armes of compassio^{n}, yo^{w} pleassed to say where should I looke for releife but at my fathers howse, whose once this was.

I doe not know that ever I misbehaued my selfe in my p'seedings, but I adventred my life both by see & land vpon all imergent occations; but since it hath pleased God thus to punish me fo^{r} my sinns, I must humbly acknowledge his iust chatisement, and humby craue his future pardon and receive me into his heavenly Glory. Yo^{u} know that this doth not conscerne my selfe (whoe could willingly now laye downe my life) but my sonn in lawe, my daughter,* and her child, whoe giues some testimony If he may be kept still at schoole of inablinge himselfe to some future fortune to aduance him heereafter: much more could I say but leave it to God to inspire into yo^{r}

* This daughter was the wife of William Dodwell and by him was mother of Henry Dodwell, the child here spoken of, afterwards well known as "the nonjuror." He was at this time at the Free School at York.

hart and to looke upon the case as it now stands wth me, And I shall ever remaine

Yo^{r} affectionate Uncle and humble

November 21st. servant

1650. F. Slingsbve.

If God shall please to enable me wth something out of Ireland I shall make full compensatiō of all the favours yo^{u} haue done me

XLV.

Lord Fauconberg to Sir Henry Slingsby Bar^{t}.

Good Son

You are in the great booke of sellinge Estates, & manie frends your name had when it was voted against you, therefore let not your Estate be ruinated, nor your woods felled &c: but cum vp & sollicit it your selfe, & I am assured by one of your frends that yet it may be saved yf you come in time. Once againe let me desire you to cum vp spedily, I lye at the Golden Still in Holborne

Your ever assured

12: Ja^{rij}: [1650] F: [auconberg]

XLVI.

Brian Stapylton to Sir Henry Slingsby Bar^t^.

S^r^.

My neece Barbara was heare yesterday; and very well (God be praysed) for whose sake and your two boyes, giue me leaue once more to importune you to looke to your selfe; The Acte for the sale of delinquents estates (whearein you are concerned) is now passinge the house, doe not deceive your selfe; yf you be Tenant in Tayle and not merely for tearme of life the sale of your Estate well be most certayne, yf not speedilie prevented: I pray you thearefore signifie your desyres to my nephewe Slingesbie Bethell what you would haue him doe, and wethall by some safe hande send vp your evidence to him, whearebie he may be enabled to contracte with the Trustees; your Sister remembers hir loue to you, and ioynes with me in this requeste for your owne good; so I reste

Y^r^ very assured louinge Brother

January the xiiij^th^ 1650 Brian Stapylton

XLVII.

Sir Henry Slingsby Bart to Slingsby Bethell.

Nephew)

Your neare relation to me and your interst w^t^ the Parliament make me thinke you a fitt meade

to meadeate for a metigation of their severe sentence aganst me. For I desire to know what on my part is not done w^ch^ you would have mee to doo.

I have lived at home above these 4 yeares, part of w^ch^ time for feare of being ill used by the souldiers I lived so close, as bad as an Imprisonment, w^ch^ hath much impared my health and yet they can find noe great matter against me, as I may judge by their suffuring of me ever since to live peeceably at home. Since this they have called upon me to Compound. But how unfitt I am to undertake it you may iudge (if compounding be to give caution for payment of a greater summe) when I have nether personal mony to answer the summe, nor credite, if your consider me as made tennant for life by my fathers strict entaile.

Now suppose my estate were free for me to sell, truly unlesse I had present monys I should but engage my selfe for a summe, w^ch^ according to the uncertaintie of these times may goe deep to draw from me that w^ch^ is left remaining. I never was a purchaser nor ever practised to take up mony at Interest for any great summe. I have not that dexteritie w^ch^ I have observed in some grand purchasers who can make their advantage in purchasing though they take y^e^ mony up att yse, those are the reasons that make mee slow to act, I may say slower, for I was ever unwilling to enter Bonds, the consequence whereof might create me trouble after wards; especially in

this case as it concernes me and others that must compound: but how w^t^ all discouraged whereby that we lie under those 3 heavie Censures, w^c^ are, Exile, ever to remain in one place; confiscation; and lastly, capitis diminutio, that is a depriving of all power in the least matter to act as a Country man. Why then should all this amount to so high an offence in me? Are there not many who compounded not att all because they may be not admitted?

If the Catholickes should importune them to receave their composition, weare not the offence equal in them and in mee, their saying too much as my saying too little? find you any great difference betweene not compounded and noe compounder? and where the offence is equal the punishment should be equal: and so both deserve the selling of their whole estates.

Or if it be in favor to the Catholickes that they doe not compound; why may not I that am of the Church of Englande partake of that favor? and if it be a punishment, why may not I partake of that punishment but must be further punished for taking patiently my punishment? But lett them doe w^t^ me what they will, I am resolved what to doe, by Gods grace to live retired and practice to learne that hard lesson in Christianitie to pray for my enemies: contrary to what is practised by the men of this world, that take the way fighting to ouercome. And my recreations shall be my studie, pleasing my selfe as I have hither-

to done in teaching my children at home: which I shame not w^t, having examples enough of persons of eminent qualitie that have done the same.

This is all the recreation I have, except it be to Hunt, w^c I can use without exceeding my limitts of five miles, though I can make shift to ride twenty or thirty miles in a dayes Hunting—A harmelesse sport, and not so apt to plott treasons; and conspiraces as your Exchang and Westminster Hall.

To conclude if you will lett me know when it is needfull to send up my deed of entail I shall not faile; only I must find out some to whom I may committ the trust of it when I send it. So I committ you to God and rest

Your affectionat uncle

21 of Januarie 1650 Henry Slingesby

XLVIII.

William Bethell to Sir Henry Slingsby Bar^t,

S^r,

S^r Jo: Bourchier writte to me some time since, but his letter came but to my hands the other day; he informs me, yo^r estate is voted to be sold, w̄^ch he laboured to prevent, I am confident w̄th what interest he had: truly he seems much troubled at it, yet partely satisfied in this, that he hath done the office

of a neighbour & friend in giving you frequent notice of the danger, as from time to time you know he did by his letters to me.

His advice is that some freind be made use of to buye yo^{r} estate for life*, & that the intayle be shewed & pleaded in time. You may easily conceive how sadly I apprehended this heavy newes, though truly I may say the thing wch I feared is come upon you. I had come myselfe wth this message but that I perceive my Bro. Bourchier hath prevented me. though I could not in reason promise any good successe, after soe many fruitless contests about it, yet to have discharged the duty of a friend & kinsman I would have come, but that something hath fallen out w^{ch} will stay me here a while.

I wish I were able any way to helpe you in this straight yet soe as I can I will wth my prayers to god, & suite to you, w̄ch againe I thus renew, coniuring you by all the ties of nature and reason, that you pitty yo^{r} selfe & children & provide in time the best you can, for yo^{r} safety w̄ch every creature would doe. Make use of what remedy is yet left lest despising all councell you fall unpittied of any but yo^{r} friends whoe then also will be able only to stand staring upon you as Job's freinds did, but prove miserable comforters. I know I am troublesome &

* Which appears to have been done: Sir Henry in his "Legacy" mentions "our friendly trustees," and the three following numbers shew who those trustees were.

doe a thankles office but I had rather for my part that wholsome Councell should breake my heade than by flattering words be smoothed on to destruction, & if you had not, yet know love hath constrained me thus to write: the messengar stays: noe more at present, but the lord direct you

Yo^r^ most aff^nate^ Nephew
Sept: 28 [1651] & humble Servant
Will Bethell.

XLIX.

S^r^.

The 6^th^ of this moneth I writt you of our buying Red-house, Mooremounton, Woolhouse, Harsewell, and the Marishes, and this follows to acquaint you, that yesterday wee contracted for Scriuen, Knaresbrough, S^t^ Roberts, and Holthrop, soe that now you may inioye your selfe, vnder a pfect assurance that your whole estate is in their hands who will be true and faithfull trustees for you and your children; These last things being but for life cost 6 yeares purchas and 814*l*: 3: 4 ouer, for the woods; your estate comes to a great summe, yet is a mercie it cost noe more, the whole as contracted for with the state amounts to 11220*l*: 16: 7: w^ch^ I reckon is money 6400*l*: charges, ordinary and extraordinary, 550*l*. soe that your whole estate will cost neare vpon

7000*l.* in money, and in this you knowe the worst of your condition, and since it is noe worse I wish that though it may not worcke in you a discovery of the errour of your Judgement, as I must call it, it may at least raise vp your owne and all your freinds harts in thankfulnesse vnto God, that he has not at this time determined the ruine of your family, as hee seemes to haue done by all in your condition, your selfe only excepted; wee haue for payment, 8 weecks for the first halfe and six moneths after for the second moyety; But because it is our designe to saue lady dayes rentes, and if wee will doe that wee must pay in our first payment before the 25. mche; I haue therfore made vse of my credit to the taking vp of. 1300*l.* and shall be forced to doe the same for 1000*l.* more, for our first payment will cost about 4000*l.* money, in regard repeires are not allowed vntill the second payment, and that all charges both ordinary and extraordinary is ready money; towards the first payment, my brother Walter and Nic[s] furnisheth mee with about 1100*l.* my Vncle Stapylton betwixt 5. and 600*l.* and the rest I shall endeavour to raise time enough to saue lady dayes rentes w[ch] will doe well to pay charges.

Thus hauing giuen you soe full an accompt of your busines as I conceiue is fitting to comitt to paper referring you for the rest vntill * M[r] Richardsons going

* The Steward.

down, with my wiues and my most affectionate respecst and humble seruice to your selfe and cosens desiring the p[r]sentation of my most humble dutie to my mother with loue and seruise to my bro: sister and the rest of my friends I rest

S[r]

Your most affectionate Nephew

London the 13[th]. Marche an[o] 1651: & Humbl Serut. Slingisby Bethell.

I forgot in my Calculation the repeires or out rentes w[ch] will be allowed you w[ch] will make your estate not to cost you aboue 6500. and the lady dayes rent being saued will make it not to cost you really aboue 6000[l].

L.

By the Com[rs] for Compoundinge &c. 23[o] Martij 1651.

Wheareas it appeares to vs that M[r] Slingsby Bethell and M[r] Robert Stapilton Haue purchased of the Trustees for Sale of Lands forfeited to the Comonwealth for Treason sitting at Drury house, The late Dissolued Priorie of S[t]. Robte neere Knaresborough w[th] the Lands Tenem[ts] and hereditam[ts] therevnto belonging in the county Yorke, a Messuage or Farme

w^th^ the appurtenances called Howthrop lying in Howthrop cū Buxton Howe in the parish of Hovingham in the said county and a Capitall Messuage w^th^ the appurtenances called Scrivenhall & the Lands Tenem^ts^ and hereditam^ts^ therevnto belonginge lying in the Township of Scriven & other Lands & Tenem^ts^ w^th^ thappurtenances in y^e^ pishes of Knaresborough & ffarneham in the said County late S^r^ Henry Slingsbies Estate and haue paid in the first moiety of the purchase money and vpon their contract for y^e^ same,

It is therefore ordered that the Com^rs^ for Seq^cons^: in the said county of Yorke Doe from henceforth forbeare to Levy or receive any of the rents or profitts of the aforesaid p^r^misses wh^ch^ shall heareafter growe due if seq^d^ as the said S^r^ Henryes Estate. And that this be entred w^th^ our Audito^r^.

Sam Moyer
Jo: Berners Edw: Winslow
Ric: Moore

I have taken notice of this order
23° Martij 1651

Ri Sherwyn Aud^r^.

Jo. Leech Intr Q 179 69

LI.

Hon^ble^ Gentleman.

When our steward at first acquainted us, that you had sent one to Inventory our personall Estate, and

that you had demanded of him a rentall of our estate reall, We sent you a civil letter, assuring you that the estate is ours, In which we have the sole and full property; and wee offered to make an affidavit thereof. And to let you see the cleareness of our Title We adioined a second letter, supposing, that thereby all scruples would have been fully removed.

But understanding from our Steward, that you have not vouchsafed one word of answer, nor intimated the least colourable reason for your proceedings, but seeme rather to bee resolved to prosecute your owne mistake to our manifest iniury: Wee remaine astonish't, to consider That Wee, Who have hazarded our estates, our lives, our All that was deare to us with the forwardest in contesting against the malignant Interest, should now find ourselves aggreived and attempted to bee wronged by that power which ought to maintaine us in our rights.

We are sorry that wee have such a cause of complaint, since wee could not have reaped harder measure if our enemies had sate in the seate of rule. Had wee bin neutralls, or persons of suspected affections, wee might have expected a faire course of tryall, which in justice wee ought to give to our very enemies. But being ffriends Wee are confident wee shall rather meete with a latitude of respect in the prosecution of our Title; yet wee desire noe other priviledge then what is common to the justice of English men to receive.

If you can evince by any wayes That S^r^ Henry Slingesby had the least title or right to the estate (which wee know, is the presumption, you now goe upon) wee shall not bee troubled that the publique enjoy it: But, if it bee, indeed, legally our's, Pardon us, if we are thus earnest to secure our possessions. Therefore wee shall onely request, That nothing may bee proceeded on to our dammage, but that things may remaine as they are, untill you have appointed vs a time to cleare vnto you what wee have affirmed; And, because some important affaires hender us at present from waiting on you, wee desire, that you would respite any further prosecution for three weekes, or a month longer: And wee shall without faile come downe to give you full satisfaction in what wee have asserted: And, wee are sure, you will then confesse, wee have acted upon an indubitable account.

Since you are not pleased to give credence to our letters, wee hope, that this iust, and reasonable, request shall find place with you, That wee may not suffer through our necessary absence. Till wee shall be admitted to speake more fully for our selves in this particular, Wee take our leaves and remaine Honble Gentlemen

London Your most humble Servants
Jan. the 31^st^. Slingesby Bethell
1655 Ro: Stapylton.

To the Hon^ble^ Major Gen^ll^. Lilburne, and the rest of the Com^rs^. for the County and City of Yorke, these.

LII.

To the Hon^{ble}: Comissio^{rs} for securinge the peace of the Nation wthin the Countie of Yorke.

The humble Petition of Henry and Barbara Slingesby for them selues & their brother Thomas Slingesby

who shew

That yo^{r} Agents haue seized Inventoried & sold seuerall goods at Readhowse as the goods of S^{r} Henry Slingesby their ffather consistinge most of Houshold goods sold to yo^{r} petitio^{rs} vse eleauen yeares agoe by the Comon wealth vpon a sequestration for their said ffathers delinquence as may appeare by one acquitance hervnto annexed *

They theirfore humblie desire that they may haue the said goods they bought, they havinge done nothing to forfeit the same

and yo^{r} petitio^{rs} will pray

Henry Slingesby

[no date] Barbara Slingesbie

LIII.

Barbara Slingsby to Sir Thomas Slingsby.

Deare Brother,

I writ my brother Hary all y^{e} newes last Weeke & t'is my duty to give you an account of what I

* Which does not now remain.

here this; that night y^e^ generall Monke went into y^e^ city & declar'd for a free Parliament there was y^e^ most universall ioy throwout y^e^ towne I ever saw; t'was all the night as light as day with y^e^ multiplisity of bone fires; hee is yett amongst y^e^ aldermen who are not quit soe well satisfied with him as they were at first; butt this day y^e^ ritts for y^e^ new election is sent down, with some qualifications which y^e^ wise say will not signifie much, & therefore you need not scruple at them, but be chosen & procure that other honest men may be soe too where tis within your power.

Lambert has submitted, but what they will doe with him is not knowne; y^e^ secluded members are positively refused ever to be received againe. Tom Porter like to be hang'd for promoteing y^e^ mutinie . . . . y^e^ soldiers, I sent you a leter from my unkle . . . but I question whether you received it, because I . . . all leters were stopt. fairewell deare brother, Love

Y^r^ most affectionate
Sister B. S.*

ffeb y^e^ 18^th^
[1659]

* The King's happy restoration by Monk and the previous state of the Kingdom, is described in the following ballad, written at the time, with so much more humour than is usual in compositions of the sort, that it is here quoted at length, with the exception of three lines suppressed. The original black letter broad sheet is in the volume, wood 401, in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

LIV.

Circular from the Privy Council August 19. 1661.

After our very hearty Comendations. Wee have thought it requisite to acquaint you that by the advertisements wee have from severall parts of the

Win at first, lose at last; or a New Game at Cards; Wherein the King recovered his Crown and Traitors lost their heads. To the tune of Yee Gallants that delight to play.

Yee merry hearts that love to play
At cards, see who hath wone the day.
You that once did sadly sing,
The knave oth' clubs hath wone the king,
Now more happy times yee have
The king hath overcome the knave
The king hath overcome the knave.

Not long ago a Game was playd
When three Crowns at the Stake was layd,
England had no cause to boast,
Knayes wone that which kings had lost,
Coaches gave the way to Carts,
And Clubs were better Cards than Hearts.
And clubs, &c.

Old Noll was the Knave oth' Clubs
And Dad of such as Preach in Tubs:
Bradshaw, Ireton and Pride
Were three other Knaves beside
And they playd with half the Pack
Throwing out all cards but black.
Throwing out, &c.

But the just Fates threw these four out,
Which made the Loyall party shout,
The Pope would fain have had the Stock
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .

But still the sport for to maintain,
Lambert Hasleridge and Vane,
And one-eyed Hewson, took their places,
Knaves were better Cards than Aces,
But Fleetwood bee himself did save,
Because hee was more fool than knave.
Because, &c.

Cromwell though hee so much had wone
Yet hee had an unlucky Son:
Hee still sits and not regards
Whilst cunning Gamesters set the Cards,
And thus alasse poor silly Dick
He playd a while, but lost the trick,
He playd, &c.

The Rumpers that had wone whole Towns,
The spoyls of Mytres and of Crowns:
Were not contented but grew rough,
As though they had not wone enough,
They kept the Cards still in their hands,
To play for Tythes and Colledge Lands.
To play, &c.

The Presbyters began to fret,
That they were like to lose the set,
Unto the rump they did appeal,
And said it was their turns to deal,
Then dealt the Presbyterians, but
The Army sware that they would cut.
The Army sware that they would cut.

The Forrain Lands began to wonder,
To see what Gallants we liv'd under,
That they which Christmasse did forswear
Should follow Gameing all the year,
Nay more, which was the strangest thing,
To play so long without a king.
To play, &c.

The bold Phanaticks present were,
Like butlers with their boxes there,
Not doubting, but that every Game
Some profit would redound to them,
Because they were the Gamesters Minions
And every day broach'd new opinions
And every, &c.

kingdome of the frequent meetings & complottings of persons of dangerous Principles, of the seditious Pamphlets which are dayly published & dispersed to p[r]pare & incite the peoples mindes to new troubles, & of the more than vsual Confidence & p[r]sumption that at p[r]sent appeares in many of those who were active Instruments in the late times of Vsurpacon & Tyranny, that it is but too evident that there is still an vnreclaimeable mutinous Spirit in some persons in this kingdome who endeavour to disturb our peace & quiet.

Wee are therefore by his Ma[tie]. Command to require

But Cheshire men (as stories say)
Began to shew them Gamesters play.
Brave Booth and all his Army strives
To save the stakes, or lose their lives.
But oh sad fate! they were undone,
By playing of their cards too soon,
By playing, &c.

Thus all the while a Club was Trump,
Theres none could ever beat the Rump,
Until a Noble General came
And gave the cheaters a clear flamm,
His finger did out-wit their noddy,
And Screw'd up poor Jack Lamberts body,
And Screw'd, &c.

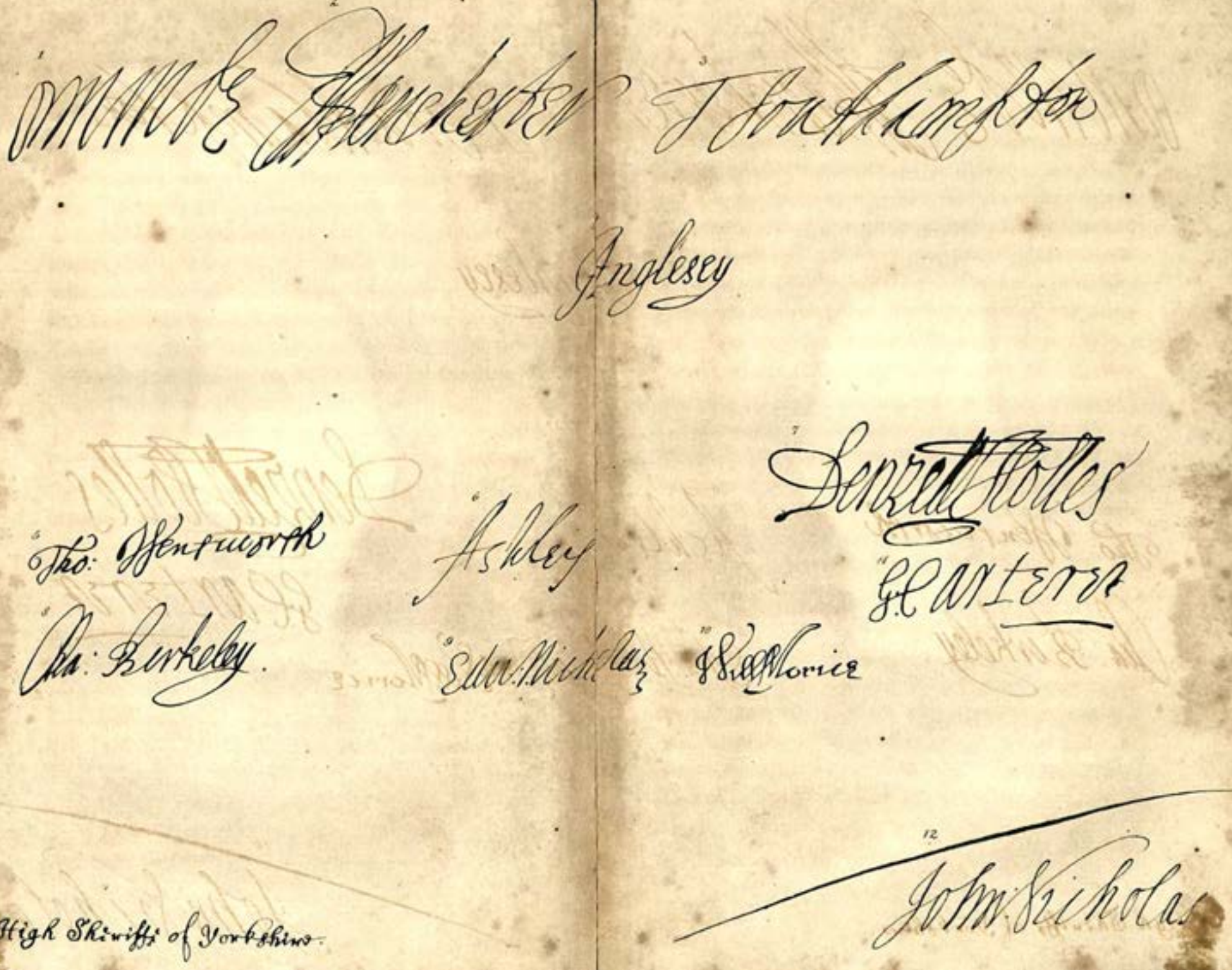
Then Hasilrig began to scowl
And said the General plaid foul,
Look to him Partners for I tell yee,
This Monk hath got a King in's belly,
Not so, quoth Monk, but I beleeve,
Sir Arthur has a knave in's sleeve,
Sir Arthur, &c.

Then General Monk did understand
The Rump were peeping in his hand,
Hee wisely kept his Cards from sight,
Which put the Rump into a fright,
He saw how many were betray'd
That shew'd their Cards before they play'd.
That shew'd, &c.

At length, quoth hee, some Cards wee lack,
I will not play with half a pack,
What you cast out I will bring in,
And a new game we will begin;
With that the Standers by did say,
They never yet saw fairer play,
They never, &c.

But presently this game was past,
And for a second knaves were cast,
All new Cards not stain'd with spots,
As was the Rumpers and the Scots,
Here good Gamesters play'd their parts
They turn'd up the King oth' Hearts,
They turn'd, &c.

After this game was done, I think
The Standers by had cause to drink,
And the Loyal Subjects sing,
Farewel knaves, and Welcome King,
For till wee saw the King return'd
Wee wish'd the Cards had all been burn'd,
We wish'd the Cards had all been burn'd.



you, calling to yo^r^ Assistance the Deputy Lieutenants of the west Riding in yo^r^ County, to vse more then ordinary vigour & activity at p^r^sent in setling, ordering, & exercising the Militia of that Lieutenancy, & to putt them into such a Posture that you may p^r^vent all seditious practises, or suppresse them if they should break forth. And you are especially to have a watchfull eye vpon the Motions of particular signall persons who are notoriously disaffected to the p^r^sent Government, & vpon any just ground of suspition to disarme them, & to secure their persons.

You vnderstand sufficiently how much the safety & peace of the kingdome depends vpon yo^r^. diligence & vigilance in discharge of the trust his Ma^tie^. is pleased to repose in you in the vacancy of a Lord Lieutenant, so as wee shall not vse any further Arguments to induce you to the carefull performance thereof. And so wee bid you very heartily ffarewell. ffrom the Court at Whitehall the 19^th^. of August 166j

Yo^r^ very loveing ffreinds

Ormonde	E Manchester	T: Southampton
Anglesey	Denzell Holles	G. Carteret
Tho: Wentworth	Ashley	Cha: Berkeley
Edw: Nicholas	Will Morrice	

John Nicholas

High Sheriffe of Yorkshire

LV.

Lord Belasyse to Sir Thomas Slingsby.

Deare Nephew,

I am forct to make use of my secretaries pen, ffor which I aske yo^r^ Pardon, by reason off some indisposition upon me att present which confines mee to my Bed, tho I hope itt will be over to morrow; but the importance of my Busines will not admitt off the least delay, having receaved some advertisements ffrom Yorke, that you have secured that Citty, by drawing your Regiment and Voluntiers of Horse into itt; the Grounds whereoff I suppose may proceed ffrom the same letters which are directed to all the lords lieutenants by the lords of the Counsell, whereoff I have receaved one and have sent out orders to my deputy lieutenants to putt the Millitia off the East Rydeinge into such a Posture as may preserve the Peace and to have a vigilant eye upon all persons dissaffected in their loyallties, and also to disarm and secure them iff there bee occasion; ffor these reasons I desire the ffavour of you to lett me know whither your orders ffrom above or intelligence extend ffurther then what I have mentioned, and whither you have proceeded so ffar as to secure any Persons, or who you have in your eye or intentions off secureinge, that I may take right measures, and doe the same, in secureing

those off that Caball; what corespondence shall be necessary. betwixt I desire may contineu in case the dainger encrease, and att present I shall give you noe ffurther trouble but the perfect assurance off the kindeness and ffrindship

off

Deare Nephew

Your most affectionate

Uncle and Servant

J Belasyse*

LVI.

Jon: Mascall to Sir Thomas Slingsby.

S^r^ York Sept^r^ 15. 1662

I was yesterday at Poppleton where I found at the Church severall of the chiefe of o^r^ noncomformists in Yorke, where preached† w^th^out the reedinge the

This letter is not in Lord Belasyse's handwriting but is signed by him. It is not dated, but was probably written in the Autumn of 1662

† The Act of Uniformity, by which the Schismatics who had been intruded upon Churches during the Rebellion were compelled either to be ordained and conform, or be removed, had come into force on S^t^. Bartholomew's day, the 24^th^ of August previous. In it is this especial provision "That at all and every time and times, when any sermon or lecture is to be preached,

Litturgie one Zachary Crafton a p'son lately a prison^{r} in the tower, upon this text (if the Gospell be hid it is hid to them that perrish); amongst seaverall other observations hee had this, that no p'son could impose any edict or Law; the p'formance of w^{ch} beinge against the conscience of a Gospel preachinge minister, whereby the office of his ministrye was impeaded, twas damnation to the psons who so imposed it: wth seaverall other strange expressions tendinge to sedition.

This beinge donne so nigh y^{r} howse & I beinge an ear witnesse I could not doe lesse then signifie thus much to you, wherein I hope you will excuse the trouble of

S^{r}

Y^{r} most humble Serv^{t}
Jon: Mascall.

the common prayers and service in and by the said book appointed to be read for that time of the day, shall be openly, publickly, and solemnly, read by some Priest or Deacon in the Church, Chappel, or place of public Worship, where the said sermon or lecture is to be preached . . . . . provided nevertheless that this Act shall not extend to the University-churches in the Universities of this realm or either of them," &c.

LVII.

The Duke of Buckingham to Sir Thomas Slingsby.

London July 25. [1662]

Sir,

This expresse is sent downe in haste upon an intelligence wee have of a suddaine attempt among the Fannatickes in the west ryding to take up Armes. I doe therfore desire you not to stirre out of Yorke Towne for some few days till wee heare more of this matter, but to keepe a strong guard there and to bee very watchfull over those are knowne to bee disaffected, to see what commerce they have together.

I have sent orders to all my Deputy Lieftenants in generall to the same effect, and to get the volontier troopes in as great a readinesse as they can in case there should bee occasion for them, but you having the command of the Regiment in Yorke Towne I thought fitt to sende you this letter that you may have a perticular care of that place

I am Sir

your most . . .

friend and Servant

Buckingham.

LVIII.

The Duke of Buckingham to Sir Thomas Slingsby.

S^r^

You have done very well in keeping your regiment upon duty at this time, wee havinge heere not only probability but assurance that there is a generall designe, all over Ingland, as well as in this towne, of a sudden insurrection against the government

I have sent my orders to the martial to secure those that are suspected whom I desire you with any other deputy Lieftenants that are with you to examine, and send up theire examinations to mee, as also to disarme all others whom you shall suspect.

I am most entirely

Sir,

Aug: the 26 1662 Your affectionat friend Buckingham.

LIX.

M. Clifford to Sir Thomas Slingsby.

S^r^,

I have desired Capt. H. Thomson to wayte upon you from his Grace to entreat you to examyne Iles and to send up the Examination to the Duke: if you can draw any thing from him of a confession of

Charles R.

2

5

Buckingham

6

3

Henry Slingesby

7

8

4

Mar. Langdale

J. Fisher. Lithog. Oxford

Claytons guilt, wch you may probably do by saying Clayton has already confest, it will be of great concernment to the discovery of the Plott; you that are neare the place know by what meanes hee is best to bee dealt with, but I thinke both ways are to bee tryed both by the promise of mercy, and the threatining of severity. I am without any complement

Sir

Your most faithful and

Wallingford howse most humble Servant

Septr 25. 1662. *M. Clifford.

LX.

A lyst of y° Charge of trained horse for Claroe made y° 12th of ffebruary 1662.

Azerly	Mr Dawson	one horse and armes
Witliffe cum Thorp	Lady Beston	one horse and armes
	Mr Robt Wynell	one horse and armes
ffountaines Abby	Mr Messenger	one horse and armes
Ripley	Sr Wm Ingleby	two horses and armes

* "and indeede such [an Academy for knowledge of Art and Improvement of speaking and writing well] was once designed since the restoration of Charles the Second (1665), and in order to it three or foure meetings were begun at Gray's Inn, by Mr Cowley, Dr Sprat, Mr. Waller, the D. of Buckingham, Matt. Clifford, Mr. Dryden, & some other promoters of it." Mr. Evelyn to Mr. Pepys. Evelyn's Memoirs, Vol. iv. p. 322.

Studley	My Lady Mallory & her eldest son	one horse and armes
Stanceley	S^{r} Solomon Swale	one horse & arms
Bilton park	M^{r} Stockdale & M^{r} Rhodes	one horse & armes
Breame Cowthorpe	M^{r} Rich Chamley M^{r} Roundell for his whole estate	one horse & arms
ffarneley Lindley	M^{r} Fawkes M^{r} Palmes	one horse & armes
Bewerley Beamesley	D^{r} Johnson S^{r} Christop Clapham	one horse & armes
Spofforth	M^{r} Sykes for his whole estate in y^{e} West ridinge	one horse & armes
Ribston,	S^{r} John Goodrick for his whole estate in Yorkshire	two horses & armes
Stockhill,	M^{rs} Middleton & her sonne	two horses & armes
Goldsbrouge, Caton,	M^{r} Hutton & M^{r} Harrison	one horse & armes
Copgrove,	S^{r} Tho Harrison,	one horse & armes
Gowthwayte,	S^{r} John Yorke,	one horse & armes
Denton,	L^{d} ffairfax,	two horses & armes
Allerton,	S^{r} Rich^{d} Maleaverage,	two horses & armes
Little Cattal	S^{r} W^{m} Ingram M^{r} Payler	one horse & armes

Kirby Overblow, Leathley — Mr Bethell, Coll Brandlin, Mr Killingberk — one horse & armes

Kirby Hall — Alderman Dickinson
Markenfeild — Sr Charles Egerton — one horse & armes

Plumpton — Robt Plumpton Esq
Killinghall — Capt Hen Atkinson — one horse & armes

Hay parke — Mr Hewly — one horse & armes

Whixley — Sr Richard Tankard & Charles Tankard Esq — one horse & armes

Sawley — Welbery Norton Esq, Mr Stephen Wilks
Brimham — Mr Braithwayte — one horse & armes

Scriven, — Sr Tho: Slingsby, — two horses & armes

Rippon, — Sr Edmund Jennings, Mr Jonathan Jennings
Newton, — & Coll, Parsons — one horse & armes

Markinton, — Mr John Burney, Mr John Burney
Nidd, — Mr Trapps — one horse & armes

Cowthorpe & Wilstrope — Mr Waumsley & Ladyes mother for there whole estate in ye west ridinge — one horse & armes

Givendale, Roecliffe, Minskip — Sr Thos Tankard
Newby — Sr Ralph Blackston — one horse & armes

LXI.

The Copie of a letter sent to M^r^ Stephen Mounteage.

S^r^

My Service Salutes yow wishinge health.

The false reports rais'd against my Lord I will p̄ve to be designes of a Villinne that was hired to informe against him and a Plott to putt me first in the Tower and then to forge letters under his and my name corresponding.

My Lord Duke is wronged, and with my life I will lett the world know it; I pray let not my Ladie be affraid for when his Maj^tie^ heares the truith The Duke wilbe restored to more fauo^r^ then Ever and his enemies ashamed of their Actions; Lett me hear from you by this or another faithfull Person, for the Duke is most unjustly accused and I am undeservedly a close Prisoner, tortured in the dungion to speake their designes against him.

But death shall close up the scene before I wilbe forc'd to dam my soule for a witnesse to their wicked designes, My last words shall be the Duke is innocent, for I know nothing against him

Tower March the 13^th^ 1666-7

Yo^r^ humble Servant
John Heydon.*

* The writer of this letter was one D^r^ Heydon; committed to the Tower for seditious correspondence with the Duke of Buckingham, who had lately been disgraced and deprived of

LXII.

Sir John Talbot to Sir Thomas Slingsby.

My Deare Bro^r^ March y^e^ 19. 1666-7

Yesterday y^e^ L^d^ ffauconbrige left this towne and on Munday next goes from Sandbeck I suppose that night to Yorke, I should bee very glad that you mett him there because he hath some affaires of concerne to you to acquaint you of. This day y^e^ E. of Burlington entered into some discourse w^th^ mee at Court, concerning you, and did assure mee he would by all the waies he could, endeavour to procure y^r^ esteeme & friendship, as being a relation of * his wifes, & his neighbour, and would serve you in what was in his power. about munday seuennight he will begin his iourney towards y^e^ North.

here hath bin some reports upon information from

his employments, and only escaped committal to the Tower by the promptitude of his Duchess, who got before the Serjeant at Arms on his way to arrest him at Westhorpe. The Duke afterwards surrendered himself and went to the Tower. Pepys in his Diary [March 3. 1666-7. p. 161. vol. iii.] after enumerating several other charges against the Duke, says, "and that he hath been endeavouring to have the King's nativity calculated; which was done, and the fellow now in the Tower about it." Probably the writer of this letter was this "fellow": and he was also, it may be presumed, the person who told Richard Cromwell his fortune.

* Namely, Elizabeth sole daughter and heir of Henry Earl of Cumberland, to whom Sir Thomas was related through the Percies. See page 329.

Yorke that [there are] severall of y^e^ gent. of y^e^ West riding, who have given out that they will lay downe theyr commissions and act noe further: I cannot say you are mentioned as one, or that you are one, but I doe beleive tis soe farr y^r^ personall esteeme for y^e^ imprudent & unfortunate D. I hope you are not soe little kind to mee as to censure this freedome I use. but tis that I am very uneasie to my selfe, till I am assured (w^ch^ I doe request by y^e^ returne of y^e^ post) that noe privat consideration of personall esteeme should prevail upon you to take such a resolution; tis possibly suspected some may refuse to act, and it must be agreed that tis highly unreasonable that the K. authoritie should bee subiected to a refusall: on y^e^ other side it were as ill to sue for a place w^th^out profitt when others have the same honor & trust proferred. therefore I begg y^e^ satisfaction from y^r^ penn that I may be able to say you will not refuse any comands, lett them come to you from whose hands soever.

There is talke of new Troops to bee raysed but not certain as yet till y^e^ Gen^ll^ returne from Newhall, & his . . . from Harwich whether he is gone to looke after y^e^ building a house for securitie of that port.

The D of Richm^d^ is to marry, if not this day married to, M^rs^ Stewart. noe newes yet of peace. my wife hath buried hir youngest daughter, I am

Y^r^ most affect^e^ Serv^t^

J. T.

LXIII.

Lord Belasyse to Sir Thomas Slingsby.

Dear Nephew,

I am so much concerned in all things relating to yo^{r} good, as fearing least you may take wrong mesures att that distance off his Ma$^{ty^{s}}$ hye displeasure, nott only against y^{r} Duck off Buckingham but all who adheare to him, so far as to expresse that unwillingness to act in his service uppon the accompt of y^{e} chang off your L^{d} Leutenant. As also that most certaynely except your friends doe assure my L^{d} Burlington that you are as reddy to serve his Ma^{ty} as others, he will nott att all send a comission to you, whereby you will be render'd both less considerable in yo^{r} countrye & esteamed less merriting & loyall then you have been.

I tharfore being well assured off y^{e} ill consequences & reflections which will befall you should this happen, doe desire you, to prevent it by giving mee power to render you other wayse to his Ma^{ty} by y^{e} best way you can expresse it att this coniuncture, by receaving frankely & kindly my L^{d} Birlingtons Comission, who, I suppose, you have no preiudice against, and acts in obedience to his Ma$^{ty^{s}}$ comands, to whome we must all submitt: and this being a thing so honorable and prudent to comply in I shall not doubt your

approbation to my advise, who hath y^e^ greatest kindness for you off any person liveing & who shall ever remaine

Deare Nephew,

March 26 Your ever affec^te^
[16]67 Uncle & Serv^t^
J. Belasyse.

LXIV.

Henry Slingsby to Sir Thomas Slingsby.

I haue, since I writt last to you, beene seuerall times w^th^ B. ff. & y^e^ rest of that gagne of your & mine old acquaintance. they are very confident that Y^e^ storme will blow ouer, but it must be some time before it will be a clere calme againe; you haue thers & y^e^ Gentlemans thankes (as they tell me) for y^e^ continewance of your kind-nesse to them, but they would not aduise you to refuse any thing thats offerd you.

Dear Bro:

Ipswich y^e^ Your most faithfull
16^th^ of Aprill & affectionate Bro^r^
[probably 1666 or 1667] H. Slingesby.

LXV.

Sir John Talbot to Sir Thomas Slingsby.

June y^e^ 18^th^ 1667

My Deare Brother,

I have stay'd soe late for this order w^ch^ I have sent for y^r^ armes that I have noe time left more then to tell you that I am comanded to march to morrow morning w^th^ 600 ffoote for Chattam, the 6 companys of ours & 6 of y^e^ Gen^lls^ Reg^t^ being returned hither this night.

I p^s^sume wee may lye there pretty secure till y^e^ next spring tides w^ch^ begin on Munday next, and then we may expect another attempt; but wee are some what better provided for them then before: my Bro^r^ Charles hath a Company off ffoote in S^r^ Allen Apsleys Reg^t^ wch consists of y^e^ Levies made for fflanders, & Gill Talbott is Leiu^t^ to my L^d^ Maynards Troope, soe that if Walt. Strickland make any request relating to them you may know you are at libertie to chuse y^r^ owne Cornet*. but this request I have to make that you will ever be very kind to y^r^ sister that doth

* Sir Thomas Slingsby had a commission for a troop of horse June 13. 1667, which was disbanded by order of the Duke of Albemarle dated Aug: 13 following.

deserve it, & to hers that I hope will, for my owne perticular I can only say I have endeavoured it in the qualitie of

Y^r^ most affect^e^ Bro^r^
& humble Servant
J. Talbot.

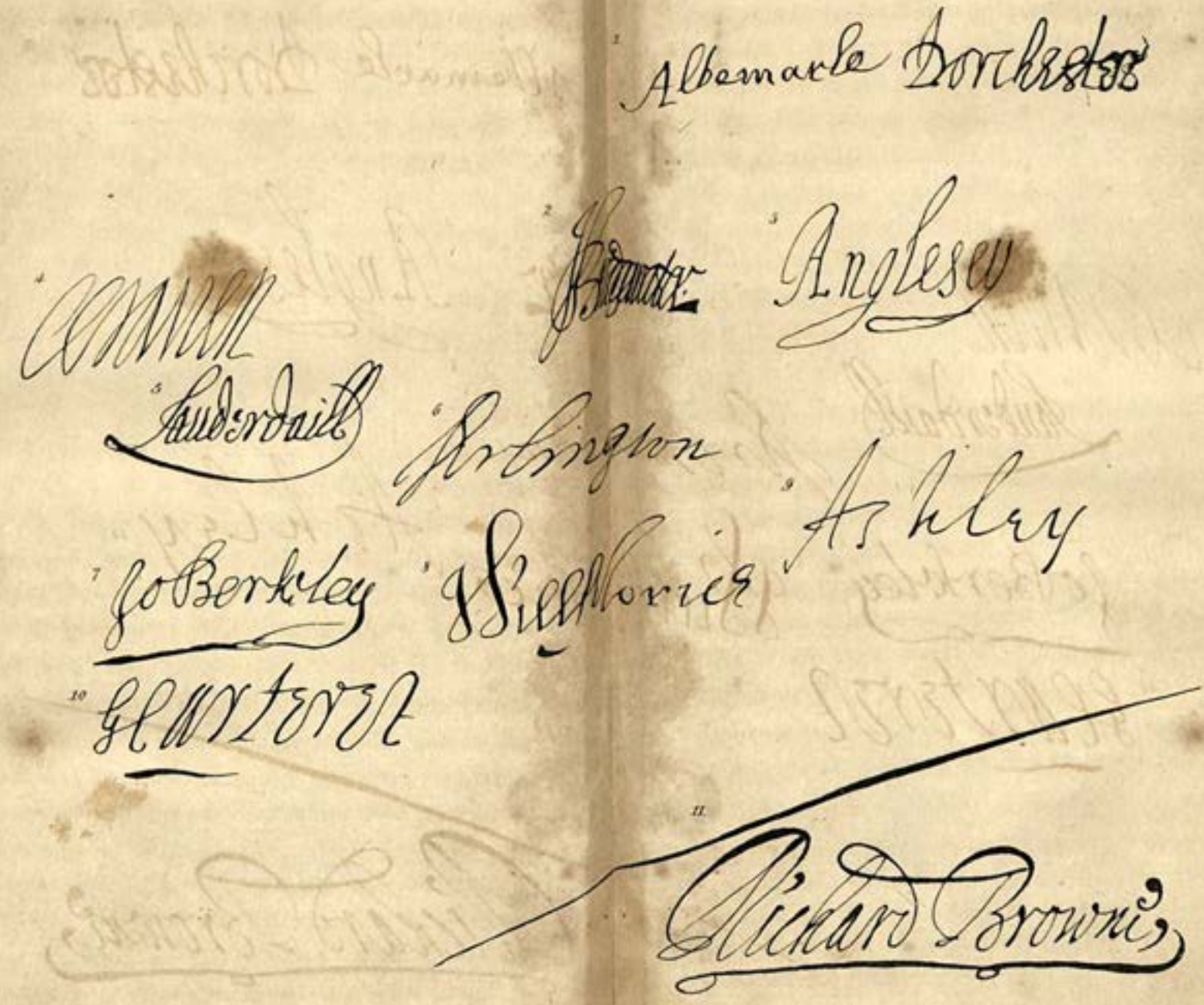
LXVI.

Da: Foulis to Sir Thomas Slingsby.

Deare S^r^

With yo^rs^ I received y^e^ sadd story of our misfortunes. I know not what to say of designes, but sure I am y^t^ y^e^ event of ours hath beene fatall: most people will judge of things according to successe: God deliuer us out of these troubles & make us more vigilent & lesse secure for y^e^ future. I am.... for Daniell & Moyser, I doubt many others .... and must fall on y^e^ same account.

I shall make it my endea^rs^ to get you such men as you desire, in order to w^ch^ I have sent to Ned trotter Chaloner &c. to make enquire, and this post shall send into Bishopbrigg for y^e^ same purpose: for these parts are very distitude of horse: & the troopes now before makes such persons timerous beyond imagination. Harry Marwood was with me this day who assured me my L^d^ Fauconberge has a Comiss: likewise for a troope & proclam'd in Thurske y^t^ those would be



under him should have 2*s*. 6*d*. p^{r} die: pray giue me some kind of conditions y^{t} I may satisfie those will enquier. S^{r} my best service to yo^{r} selfe, Lady, blessing to my Goddaughter, & be assured that not only in this but in all other yo^{r} concernes you shall finde me to my utmost

Dear S^{r}

Yo^{r} most affec^{t} servant

20 June 1667 Da. ffoulis.

Pray if you hear of anything of concerne^{mt}. write or hand itt to

Yo^{r} D. F.*

LXVII.

The Information of Jeremy Bower of Bradford In the County of York Postmaister.

Who saith y^{t} towards the latter end of Aprill 1667: he was in company wth ffryer & Cap^{t} Leauens who then went by y^{e} name of ward, in conference they the saide fryer & Lavanes Inquired for the duke of Buckinghame & they both saide they desired to fynd hime oute for y^{t} the duke had Ingaged †Leavenes to

* This letter alludes perhaps to the daring enterprise of the Dutch fleet, which in this month sailed up to Chatham and burned several of our Ships.

† Perhaps the person here meant was the Quaker Captain John Levens, who is said in Hargrove's Knaresborough to have died at Killinghall, 1668.

Imploy seauerall seamen for thee surprisinge & takinge of y^e^ Tower of London, to make warr aganste y^e^ Kinge: & y^t^ ffryer had £60 sallery yearely; & ward (viz) Leauens had £120 & said y^t^ if they heard from y^e^ Informant att any tyme any thinge towards the diccoverie of the duke y^t^ he would send for them & they would assist him, & y^t^ they wanted not for monie, If they did S^r^ Roger Langley would supply them, y^t^ to his owne Knowledge they red severall letters from S^r^ Roger Langley, beinge acquainted formerly w^th^ S^r^ Roger Langleyes hand writting & y^t^ seaverall letters went from the saide fryer & Lavens to him and likewise from one of Bauerley who was since taxt for a heighway man, whose name he doth not remember: Imedeaitly after the hearinge, he acquainted Cap^t^ Lister of Maningham w^th^ what past, & likewise M^r^ Sturde the Scoulmaster of the towne. In testemony of the truth the saide Informant hath heare unto put his hand the 3^rd^ of august [16]67

Jeremy Bower.

LXVIII.

Brian Fairfax to Sir Thomas Slingsby.

S^r^

Wallingford House
Oct. 19. 1669

This day the Parl^t^ met and the King in a short speech recomended to them y^e^ care of paying his

debts contracted by the late warr, and my Lord Keeper in his speech by the Kings comand recomended to them the appointing Comissioners to treat w^th^ other Comiss^rs^ of Scotland about an Union of the Two Kingdomes. S^r^ if itt bee in my Power to serve you in any thing here, bee pleased to comand mee who am

Your most humble Servant
B^r^ : ffairfax.*

LXIX.

Fra : Rogers to Sir Thomas Slingsby.

Sir,

I coud not forbare sending this Register to wait upon you w^th^ this suddaine and unexpected newes of y^e^ King's being soe extremly Ill†; seven expresses have passed this day in order to a preparation for all present juncture of affairs, both to Scotland and all this province over; thear is a present stop to all seaports, and suspicious persons to be stopt; wee can doe little heare without the assistance of yo^r^ Regim^t^ w^ch^ wee are confident in upon all occasions; I am very Ill of a Disaster upon my Stomach y^t^ I cannot Ride, or

* This is the Gentleman who, with the Earl of Arran, Lord Fairfax, Colonel Liston, and M^r^. Gibson, attended the Duke of Buckingham in his last moments at Kirkby-Moorside.

† King Charles II. died February 6, 1684-5.

I woud have waited upon you my selfe this night, though late: if any thing matterall occurs I will certainly give you an account, I am honored Sir

Yo[r] most obedient faithfull

Yorke feb y[e] 4[th] Serv[t]

1684 Fra: Rogers.

ten a clock att night

LXX.

Sir John Talbot to Sir Thomas Slingsby.

Deare Bro[r] June y[e] 11[th] [16]67.

Y[e] post is gone, yet I must tell you the Enimie have possessed themselves of Sheepie Island and the Gen[ll] w[th] 6 Companyes of our Regt, 6 of his owne, and the Millitia of y[e] Country doo designe to attacque them. God bless you & yo[rs], mee & myne, and doo you ever love y[r] poore sister, & hirs, & for her sake

Y[r] most affec[te]

J. T.*

* This alarm was caused by the daring enterprize of the Dutch in sailing up the Thames. In Pepys's Diary is a detail of their proceedings.

LXXI.

Lord Bellasyse to Sir Thomas Slingsby.

Deare Nephew

Your brother acquainting me w^th^ S^r^. Jo: Godrikes dangerous indisposition * & your thoughts to stand for K^t^ off y^e^ shire (in case he dye) I assured him off all my interest in y^e^ East Riding, which I presume will be verry intire for you; & I allso acquainted y^e^ Duke off Buckingham yesterday who has given me power to write to assure you allso off his: & in returne [you] may doe well to acknowledge in a letter to his grace y^r^ oblegation you haue to him: as for my Lord Alesbury & S^t^ Johns I will most certainly ingadge them; for y^e^ north, you haue L^d^ Fauconberge; and so many frinds all ouer, acquired by your owne meritt & fathers, as ti's impossable for you to faile off being elected. & therefore I pray resolue to stand & serue yo^r^ contrye, which will be much to your hoour & no lesse to y^e^ satisfaction off him that is

deare
Nephewe
Your most

Lon^d^. Oct^r^: 8. affect. Uncle & Serv^t^
1669. J. Belasyse.

All our services heare to your Lady.

* Sir John Goodricke lived till November 1670.

LXXII.

The Duke of Newcastle to Sir Thomas Slingsby.

Noble Sir

Wellbeck. Nov: y^e^ 10^th^ (84) [1684]

I recieued this day yours of the 8^th^, and I assure you I haue a great respect for you, but I doe not intend to sell Slingsby Castle, or any of the £1200 a yeare I haue near it. I wounder how the report should be y^t^ I was selling of it, for there was never any occasion for it. I have been soe concerned at it, I have inquired how and from whom it came; and I perceue my Lord Widdrington spoke it confidently at Gilling. I wish his Lo^p^ was in as good a condition as I am: sure I haue serued his Lo^p^ for these nine yeares very considerably as to his revenew. I trouble you thus much out of friendship to you, to shew there is noe such thing as my selling Slingsby.

I am truly

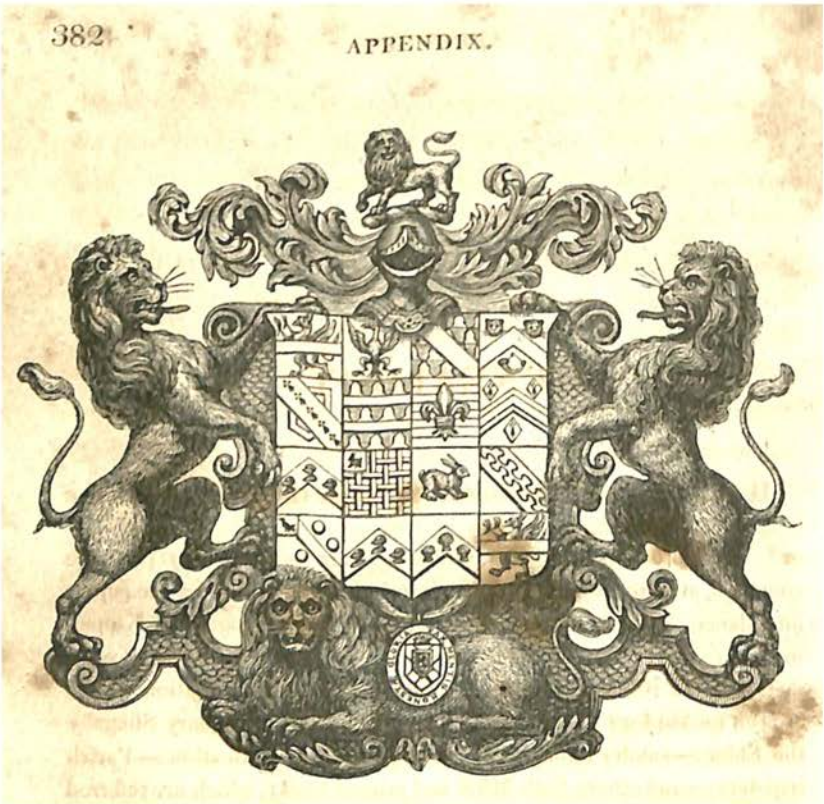
Your most faithfull Serv^t^

H. Newcastle.*

* The last Duke of Newcastle of the house of Cavendish, son of the brave Marquis who suffered and lost so much in the Rebellion. He died, 1691.

APPENDIX.

I. GENEALOGY.
II. TRIAL OF SIR HENRY SLINGSBY.



This Achievement is marshalled as that in the window of the Chapel at Redhouse; and the quarterings, as regards the disposition of Slingsby and Scriven, as on the tomb of Francis and Mary Percy; the pages referred to, are those on which the blazon of the coats may be found; they are,

1, Slingsby. (p. 384.) 2, Stodleigh. (p. 387.) 3, Mancester. (p. 387.) 4, Scriven. (p. 384.) 5, Markington. (p. 384.) 6, Walkingham. (p. 384.) 7, Staveley. (p. 384.) 8, Caperon. (p. 384.) 9, Scotton. (p. 385.) 10, Brereton. (p. 384.) 11, Sawley. (p. 384.) 12, Nesfield. (p. 388.) 13, Warde. (p. 389.) 14, as 9. 15, Cradock. (p. 413.) *Argent* on a chevron *Azure*, three garbes *Or*. 16, as 1.

GENEALOGY.*

It will be most convenient to begin the pedigree of the

* The authorities for this Genealogy are:—the family pedigree compiled, as is recorded in a Latin inscription upon it, under the superintendance and from the researches of Sir William Slingsby of Kippax in the year 1617, and continued down to 1627; in it the arms of each match up to the year 1617 are painted:—an exemplification of the sixteen quarterings ex parte paterna et materna of Sir Henry Slingsby the Elder:—sundry family MSS.:—original oral information:—Parish registers:—and others, both MSS. and printed books, which are referred to at the foot of the page.

The history of the ancient office of Forester of the Forest and Parks of Knaresborough, hereditary in this family, is not here attempted, because its details are very numerous and at the same time not of what is called general interest. It would probably form a volume by itself if all the disputes with the Duchy Court of Lancaster and the pleadings in it were recapitulated. For the present purpose it seemed sufficient to mention the hereditary character of the office, and the uninterrupted transmission of it to the present possessor.

It should be mentioned that Individuals of this name occur whom it has been impossible to identify or place in the Pedigree; e. g. in the Kalendar to the pleadings in the Duchy Court, in 44th of Q. Elizabeth a "Sir George Slingesbie Receiver of Pontefract Honour" occurs as plaintiff; again, in the Graduati Cantabrigienses occurs "Slingsbie, Gul. Sid. A.B. 1675;" both of whom it is much more than probable were offshoots of this stem.

*Slingsby family with some account of the †Scrivens who are merged in it.

of these, Gamellus surnamed Auceps, probably from being Royal Fowler, had a confirmation of his lands in Scriven from Henry the First: he had issue Baldwin, Capital Forester of the Forest and Parks of Knaresborough, which Baldwin had issue Henry who married temp: Hen: III. Emma sister and heir of ‡Henry de Markington and by her (who at his death was re-married to Ingram de Monceaux) had issue, Baldwin who died without issue, and Thomas heir of his brother who married temp: Ed: I. Agnes daughter of §John de Walkingham, and Agnes his wife daughter and heir of ||Alan Lord of Staveley and heir of her brother and sister Alan and Ada de Walkingham, and by her had issue Henry who married temp: Ed: II. Alice daughter and coheir of **Richard Caperon (who was of Scotton temp: Ed: I) and Alice his wife daughter and heir of ††Robert Brereton of Brereton Com: Ebor: temp: Hen: III and Helvisia his wife daughter and heir of ‡‡Thomas de Sawley: which

* Argent, a griffon Sergeant Sable, debruisè of a fesse Gules.

† Gules, a chevron between two Leopards faces in chief and a hunting-horn in base Argent. The chevron and Leopards faces sometimes Or.

‡ Gules, an Orle Argent, debruisè of a bend Ermines.

§ Vair, two bars Gules.

|| Barruly of eight Argent and Gules, over all a Fleur-de-lys Sable.

** Sable, on a chevron between three Lozenges Argent, each lozenge charged with an Ermine spot, another chevron Gules.

†† Or, fretty of pieces disposed palewise and barwise Sable, and on a canton Gules a cony Argent. This very rare bearing of fretty still preserves the notion of the other Brereton coat, Argent, two bars Sable. These Brerctons were perhaps an offshoot from the Cheshire Brereton, and thus differenced their coat.

‡‡ Gules, a cony contournè Argent: but a different coat is given in

Richard Caperon of Scotton was son and heir of William Caperon of Scotton temp: Hen: III and Alice or Amice his wife daughter and heir of *Adam de Scotton.

By this lady, Henry de Scriven had issue two daughters coheirs, of whom the eldest, JOHANNA, was married to William de Slingsby of Stodeleigh, of whom presently; the second, Agnes, was married first to †William de Newsom, secondly to Richard Furneux from whom she was divorced, by neither of whom she had issue: she was married thirdly to William de Merkesale by whom it would appear she had a daughter, who becoming a religious person extinguished the line of the second coheir of Henry de Scriven.

It must be mentioned here that this pedigree down to Henry de Scriven is certified by an Inquisition taken at Knaresborough, on the occasion of an interruption of the rights of Forestership by the Seneschal of Piers Gaveston the favourite of King Edward the Second. The following is the Inquisition:

"Inquisitio capta in plena Curia apud Knaresburgh, die Mercurij in festo S^ti. Edmundi Regis, An^o. Regni Regis E^di filiij Regis Edwardi 2^do: corā Dño Gulielmo de Vaus, tunc Senescallo de Knaresburgh, de Ballia et custodia Henrici de Screuin, de Forestaria Forestæ et Parcorū de Knarisburgh, p. Robertū de Stauely et alios Juratores, qui dicunt sup. Sacramentū suū qd. quidā Gamellus antecessor p'dicti Henrici habuit Balliuā & custodiā Forestæ et Par-

Harl: MS. 1487 for the Sawley of Sawley, whose family ended in two coheiresses, one married to Hungate (in her right) of Saxton, the other to Amcote of Linconshire, viz. Argent, on a bend cotised Sable three Eagles' or Griffons' heads erased of the field.

* Or, on a chevron Sable, three Esquire's helmets close of the field.

† Azure, a fesse Argent between a pair of bars gemells Or.

corū de Knar: tp̄e a quo non extat memoria, et inde obijt sesitus, ut de feodo, et hœreditate; et post decessū ipsius Gamelli, uenit quidā Baldwinus filiˢ. et hæres ipsiˢ Gamelli, & habuit pᵈictā Balliuā et custodiā, et eas tenuit liberè & pacificè, p. totam uitā suā de feodo et hæreditate; et post decessū p'dicti Baldwini uenit quidā Henricˢ, filius et hæres ipsius Baldwini, et habuit ut sup; et post decessū ipsiˢ. Henᶜⁱ:, uenit quidā Baldwinus, filius et hœres ipsiˢ Henᶜⁱ:, et habuit ut sup:; et post decessū eius, uenit Thomas frater eiˢ.; cui pᵈict Balliua & custodia descendebant iure hereditario, et habuit ut sup; et post eū, Henᵘˢ: filiˢ. ipsiˢ., et habuit ut sup, et eas tenuit usq diē mercurij prōx: post festū Sc̄i Dunstani, anº Regis E. 2 primo, et tunc impeditus fuit p. Dnūm Gulielmū de Vaus Senescallū Dn̄i Petri de Gauestō, tunc Comitē Cornubiæ, In cuius & cæt.*

The family of Slingsby, like most others of the oldest class whether Saxon or Norman, takes its name from the place at which it was settled when it first rose into consequence, Slingsby, a parish in Rydall division in the North Riding of Yorkshire. This place is twice mentioned in Doomsday, thus. "In Selvngesbi fourteen carucates of land to be taxed. Land to seven ploughs; and twenty acres of meadow. It has been valued at seventy shillings, now thirty shillings:" and again under Craven, "Berewicks. These belong to this manor, Eslingesbi" and others.†

* This inquisition is here given from the Family Pedigree on which it is inscribed: it occurs also in Harl: MS. 245 (a volume entitled "Liber Miscellaneor: Roberti Gloveri Somerseti Heraldi. Transcript: p. W. Smith Rougedragon Anº. 1600.") under the first article, which is headed, "Ex chartis Francisci Sclingesby de Scriuen in Com̄ Ebor Armigeri 1586." The names of the other jurors are there given.

† Bawden's Doomsday.

The first of this family on record is WILLIAM SCLINGISBYE of Sclingisbye who had issue JOHN who lived in the reign of King John and had issue WILLIAM who married Isabella daughter of *William Thorp and by her had issue,

JOHN who married, temp: Ed: I, Agnes daughter of †William de Stodleigh (Studley, near Ripon) heir to her brother, William de Stodleigh, and heir also of her mother Agnes daughter and coheir of ‡William de Mancester Lord of North-Stodleigh; This match it would seem caused the Slingsbies to leave their ancient seat and settle at Studley, for John had issue by his wife Agnes,

WILLIAM DE SLINGSBY, surnamed of Stodleigh, in whose issue the families of Scriven and Slingsby were united, by his marriage, February 20. 1333, 7th. Ed: III. with JOHANNA, coheir of Scriven. He frequently occurs as one of the Commissioners of Array for the Honour of Knaresborough in the Rotuli Scotiæ during this reign. He died 1349-50, 23rd. Ed. III. having by his wife Johanna who had issue two sons, Gilbert and Richard; and one daughter Johanna or Janetta, married to Robert de Winkesley by whom she had issue, and died 1388-9. 12th. Ric: II. Of the sons, Gilbert the eldest, married Margaret daughter of §Henry Querton, and died s. p. 1344-5. 18th. Ed: III.

RICHARD second son and eventually heir of his Father and Brother, was Capital Forester of the Forest and Parks of Knaresborough in right of his Mother: an office which,

* Azure, a fesse dancettè Argent.

† Argent, an Eagle displayed Sable. Otherwise as on the tomb of Francis and Mary Slingsby, Vair, on a bend three Eagles displayed.

‡ Vair, a bend Gules.

§ Sable, a maunch Argent.

although stripped of its profitable privileges by the enclosure of the forest, still exists as a matter of right in the blood of his lineal representative. He marshalled his maternal coat of Scriven in the first quarter, as has been commonly, though not always, done by his descendants; and, it may be conjectured, left also the bearing of the Slingsby Griffon for Crest, and assumed the Scriven Lion.

For; on the tomb of Francis and Mary Slingsby, the stone escocheons carved on the side pannels, have Slingsby in the first quarter; on the seal of Sir Henry Slingsby the elder, which is still in existence with the date 1589 cut on the rim, Slingsby is in the first quarter; and the impression of the Seal of Sir William Slingsby of Kippax not only exhibits Slingsby in the first quarter, but what may very reasonably be supposed to have been the original crest of the family, a griffon passant, with wings addorsed, [see facsimiles of these two seals].

This Richard married Johanna daughter and coheir of * William Nesfield of Scotton and Ismania his wife,

* Or, a bend Gules charged with another nebulè Argent. In Glover's visitation of Yorkshire, 1584-5, is the following statement,

Willm Slingesby=Joane da & coheire
liued 8 Ed 3. & 1334 | of Henr Scriven

Joane da of=Richard Slingesby=Marierie da of
Wm Nesfeld liued 32 Ed. 3 of | — — —
ux 1ª. Steward Scriven 1358 | ux 2ª
of Knaresbrough

William Slingesby
i son & heire of Scriven
liued 3. H. 5.
&c.

In opposition to which it can only be said that Nesfield seems always to have been a quartering of the family. It occurs on the tomb of

daughter and coheir of *John Warde of Scotton and

Francis and Mary Slingsby which was finished sixteen years after Glover's visitation, and in the coat stained on the glass of the Chapel window at Red House: it is also painted in the Atchievement on the Family Pedigree, in which no mention is made of any other marriage of Richard Slingsby than that with Nesfield. The visitation of Glover from which this and other extracts are made is an original in the possession of D^r. Bandinel, Keeper of the Bodleian.

Another account of this part of the pedigree occurs in MS. Harl. 4630. p. 565, as follows,

" Willm̄ of Slingisby married Joane daughter & heire of Henry of Scriven in whose right he was seized of the Lordship of Scriven near Knaresburgh had issue Gilbert & Richard who both lived about the Reigne [sic] of the 32^th^. yeare of King Edward the third.

Gilbert of Slingisby son & heire of Willm̄ married daughter of Willm̄ Calverley Esq had issue Willm̄.

Willm̄ Slingisby of Scriven Esq. son and heire of Willm̄ married Elizabeth daughter of Thomas Banckes of Whixley Esq had issue Richard.

Richard Slingisby of Scriven Esq son & heire of Willm̄ married Anne daughter & coheire of M^r^ John Nesfield of Nesfield had issue Willm̄.

Willm̄ Slingisby of Scriven Esq Son & heire of Richard married Johan daughter of S^r^ Robert Plompton of Plompton kn^t^. had issue Willm̄ John, Robert, Thomas, & Agnes married to M^r^. Thomas Knaresburghe."

The Pedigree of Slingsby given in this MS. is so greatly at variance with the Visitations and the Family Pedigree, as to be of little if any value. The printed Pedigrees, Kimber's, Betham's, and Playfair's, seem to have been made from it or the materials which supplied it: they all follow it step by step. It should be mentioned however, that in it Francis Slingsby (see below) is not called Knight, and is called Esquire.

* Argent, a bend Sable between three pellets, and on a Canton of the second a martlet of the field: but in MS. Harl: 1487 a different coat is given, viz. Azure, a cross fleury Or, quartering 2^nd^. Azure, a bend cotised Argent between six martlets Or.

Amice his wife, daughter and heir of *Radulph de Scotton. This match gave occasion to a dispute, the account of which with the accompanying notice is quoted by Drake in his "Eboracum" from Sir Thomas Widdrington's MS. as follows. The Inquisition alluded to by Sir Thomas is that which has been already given at length.

"Redhouse hath been of late a seat of the Slingsbys, Sir Henry Slingsby the elder that last was, having built a fair house there. But Scriven near Knaresborough is a much more ancient seat of this family; for William de Slingsby their ancestor, married the daughter and heir of Thomas [Henry] de Scriven, by which marriage he had Scriven and many other good possessions. He had also the office of forester of the forests and parks of Knaresburgh; in which family of Scriven that office had antiently been, as appears by an Inquisition which I have seen, taken at Knaresburgh the second year of King Edward the son of King Edward.

Slingsby by this marriage became heir to Thomas de Walkingham, whose daughter and heir Scriven had formerly married. One of the ancestors of Slingsby did also marry a daughter and heir of William de Nessfield, by which he had accession also of the manors of Scotton, Brereton, and Thorp; touching which I find a controversy between John King of Castile and Leon, Duke of Lancaster, commonly called John of Gaunt, on the one part, and William de Gargrave and Hykedon [Richard] de Slingsby, who had married the two daughters and heirs of William de Nesfield on the other part. The Duke claimed by purchase from Nesfield, and the two heirs by an entail. This controversy is in an indenture written in French, dated July the 26, anno

* Or, on a chevron Sable three Esquires helmets close of the field.

1287*, a copy of which was shewn me by Henry Slingsby of Kippax Esq: the Son and heir of Sir William Slingsby, who was a younger Son of this family. The controversy is by that indenture referred to twelve of the best Knights and Esquires of the county of York near Scotton."

This Richard died 1363-4, 37th. Ed: III, having by his wife Johanna had issue,

WILLIAM, who married Margaret daughter of † Thomas Winkesley and Margaret his wife, daughter of Hugh Tresmer, and died 1391-2, 15th. Ric: II, having by her had issue,

‡ WILLIAM, who married Janet daughter of Radulph

* This date is manifestly wrong.

† Argent, a fesse between three cinque foils Azure.

‡ This descent is given in the text exactly as it stands in the Family Pedigree, but it seems that one descent was omitted here, for in Glover's visitation the descents stand thus,

William Slingesby=Margarett da. of Tho:
i son & heire of Scriven lived 3. H. 5 | de Winkesley by Marg da. of Hugh Tresmere

Richard Slingesby=Jane da. & heire of
i son & heire 10. H. 6 | Raphe Melton of Melton hall co Derbie

Willm Slingesby=Joan. da of
i son & heire | Sir Jo: Melton Kt.

By comparing the text with these descents it will be very evident that a confusion between the two matches with the house of Melton, may have caused the drawer of the family Pedigree to consider them as one. But there is another question as to the person whom William Slingsby, both by Glover, and the family Pedigree, represented as the husband of a Winkesley, did really marry. In MS. Harl: 4630 quoted above and in the printed Pedigrees, he is said to have married a daughter of Sir Robert Plompton. Dodsworth also in his MS. Vol. 3. fol. 88, in the Bodleian gives the following statement of the match,

or *Ralph Melton of Melton Hall co: Derb:; which Radulph or Ralph Melton was son and heir of John Melton of Melton Hall, who was grandson of Radulph Melton of Melton Hall and Johanna his wife sister and heir of †John de Snipstone; which John and Johanna de Snipstone were grandchildren of Robert de Snipstone and Alice his wife, daughter of ‡William Apelby. By this lady he had issue, one daughter Anne or Agnes married to Thomas de Knarisburgh (which Thomas died 1450) and three sons, of whom the two younger Robert, and William otherwise Thomas, died, s. p. The eldest,

JOHN, married Johanna or Isabell daughter of § Walter

Willmus Slyngsby de Screvin 17. H. 5. = Jenet [Plompton] nupta, 7. H. 5.

But (apparently) the same daughter of Sir Robert Plompton was married to another person: for in MS. Harl: 1487 (which is an incorporation of the three visitations, of Tonge in 1530, Glover in 1584-5, and St. George 1612, by John Withie) is the following statement,

Sir Robert Plompton Knt. = Alice da: & h. of William Godfrey Foliambe.

[other issue]

Joane vx Jo: Greene.

Perhaps William Slingsby married Joane [Plompton] Greene after the deaths of his wife and her husband, and in process of time a confusion arose as to which match continued the family.

* Per pale Gules and Sable, a Lion rampant Argent; otherwise, as given in an exemplification of the sixteen quarterings ex parte materna et materna of Sir Henry Slingsby the Elder, Azure, a cross patonce voided Or.

† Sable, on a bend Argent three garbes Gules.

‡ Argent, on a bend Sable three apples slipped Or.

§ Sable, an Inescocheon within eight martlets orlewise Argent.

Calverley of Calverley or Caverley Com: Ebor: and Isabella his wife, daughter and heir of * John Drakes; and died 1459-60, 38th. Hen: VI. having by her had issue three daughters. 1. Marjory married to † Thomas Coughyll of Knaresborough. 2. Johanna, Lady prioress of Nun-Monkton Com: Ebor:. 3. Anne married to ‡ Hugh Tancred or Tankard of Borough-Bridge, and one son,

JOHN, who married Marjory daughter of § Simon Pooley of Badley co: Suff: and Marjory his wife, daughter and heir of ‖ Edmund Alcocke. He was at the battle of Floddon-field which was fought September 9. 1513, fifth of Hen: VIIj., and was mortally wounded: it is certified by the Inquisitio post mortem, taken at York, that he died September 16, and that his eldest son was "plene etatis".

By his wife Marjory he left issue five sons and four daughters. Of the Sons, Thomas, was the eldest and heir, of whom presently. 2. John, died. s. p. 3. Marmaduke, died. s. p. 4. Peter, of Bilton Park, Keeper of Knaresborough Castle, married and had issue one daughter and heir *Anne* married, first, 4th. Ed: VI. to Richard or William Goldesborough by whom she had one daughter and heir of her husband Goldesborough, Anne, who died 31. Eliz: having been married to Edward Rigby, and by him having had

* Checquè Or and Azure, on a chief Gules three ostrich feathers in plume issuants of the first.

† Gules, on a chevron Argent three pellets, and a chief indented Sable. Guillim gives the chief plain.

‡ Argent, on a chevron engrailed between three escalops Gules, as many annulets of the field.

§ Or, a Lion rampant Sable, armed and langued Gules.

‖ Argent, a chevron engrailed between three Cocks Sable, combed wattled and membered Gules.

issue Lawrence, who alienated the manor of Goldesborough to Sir Richard Hutton*. Secondly, to Henry Brakenbury by whom she had issue, George Brakenbury who died s. p., and Anne. 5. Simon married and had issue *Christopher, Robert*, and *Peter;* which Peter was father of Anthony Slingsby, created October 23, 1628, a Baronet of England, being Governor of Zutphen in Holland; Sir Anthony died in 1630 s. p. when this Baronetcy became extinct. Of the daughters 1. Anne was married to †John Swayle of Staveley, Com: Ebor: 2. Marjory to ‡ Walter Pulleyn of Scotton, Com: Ebor: . 3. Isabella to § Thomas Lambton of Harrogate Com: Ebor: 4. Elizabeth. The eldest son,

Thomas, married Johanna daughter of || Sir John Maloyre or Mallory and Margery his wife, daughter of ** Hugh Hastings and Anne his wife, daughter of †† Sir William Gascoyne and Margaret his wife, daughter of ‡‡ Thomas Clarell: which Hugh Hastings was son of John Hastings of Fenwick and Anne his wife, daughter of

* Dodsworth MS. 8. fol. 83, and Glover. Dodsworth calls the elder Rigby, "Edmund of Newall juxta Otteley," and Lawrence, "of Calder Abbey, Cumberland," and writes the surname in such a manner as to make it resemble Kighley.

† Argent, on a fesse Gules cotised Sable between three mullets pierced of the last, a greyhound courant Or.

‡ Azure, on a bend between six lozenges Or, each charged with escalop Sable, five escalops of the last.

§ Sable, a fesse between three lambs passants Argent, on the fesse a crescent Gules, [for difference].

|| Or, a Lion rampant double-queuè Gules, collared Azure.

** Or, a maunch Gules.

†† Argent, on a pale sable a Congers head coupè Or.

‡‡ Gules, six martlets, 3, 2, 1, Argent.

* William Lord Morley. Sir John Mallory was the Son of Sir William Mallory and Johanna his wife, daughter of † Sir John Constable of Halsham and Loiza his wife, daughter of ‡ Henry Lord Fitz-Hugh: which Sir William Mallory was son of Sir John Mallory of Studley and Elizabeth his wife, daughter of § Sir William Hamerton.

By this lady, Thomas (who was buried at Knaresborough September 26. 1581) had issue six sons and four daughters. Of the Sons, Francis was the eldest and heir, of whom presently. 2. Marmaduke, married Elizabeth daughter of Sir William Mallory of Studley and widow of Sir Robert Stapleton. 3. Christopher, married Elizabeth daughter of Richard and sister of Francis Tancred or Tankard of Pannal Com: Ebor: widow of .... Browne, and was buried at Knaresborough February 6. 1602. 4. William, died s. p. and was buried at Knaresborough October 8. 1606. 5. Peter, died. s. p. 6. Thomas, died s. p. Of the daughters, 1. Elizabeth, was married to || Christopher Coniers of Holtbye, Com: Ebor:. 2. Dorothy, married to Francis Tancred or Tankard of Pannall. 3. Anne, married to ** Christopher Meinell of Holdenby, Com: Ebor: 4. Joanna, married to ††Thomas Norton of Seacroft Com: Ebor:. The eldest son,

‡‡ FRANCIS, married Mary only sister of Thomas and

* Argent, a Lion Rampant Sable, armed and Langued Gules, crowned Or.

† Or, a fesse compony Argent and Azure, in chief a Lion passant Gules

‡ Azure, three chevronels braced in base and a chief Or.

§ Argent, three hammers Sable.

|| Azure, a maunch Or.

** Argent on a bend Azure, three escalops of the field.

†† Argent, a saltier Sable, a Label of three points Azure.

‡‡ In the Collections of Penson, Chester and Lancaster Herald,

Henry Percy successively Earls of Northumberland, and daughter of *Sir Thomas Percy (brother of Henry Earl of Northumberland) and Alianora his wife, daughter and coheir of †Sir Guichard Harbotle and Jane his wife, daughter of ‡Sir Henry Willoughbie of Wollaton and Margaret his wife, daughter of §Sir Robert Markham and Jane his wife, daughter and heir of ||Sir Giles

temp. Jac: I. and Car: 1., Harl: MS. 1052, at fol. 49, b, is this note; "M^{d} that M^{r}. Francis Slinsby of Scryving in Yorkshire doth require search to be made in the Records for his old auncient Arms of Slingisby, for saith he, that these Armes which now he beareth, are the Arms of Scryvinge of Scryvinge, which were his Auncestors by mariage of Jone Da: and sole heir of Henry Scryving, and also he shews old Euidence that the said Scryving did marry with the Daughter and sole heir of Walkingham, soe that he ought to bear the Armes of Slyngsby, Scryving, and Walkingham.

M^{d}. Let Slinsby first be assured of a paternall Coate of his owne name before he seeke or make inquirance after the quartering of Armes of other families."

Penson must have copied this note from some memoranda relating to the Yorkshire visitation, of 1584-5. It is quoted at length here because the second "M^{d}." is printed in the Harleian Catalogue. A more idle remark could hardly have been made: it needs only to be stated in reply, that the Slingsby coat [A. a Griff. serg. S. debr. of a fesse G.] is exemplified to the name in Glover's visitation without any note of doubt or confirmation at that or any other time; that from Glover's MS. Harl: 245, quoted above, it appears this coat was used by William Slingsby the husband of Johanna de Scriven, in 18th. Ed: III; and that from the same MS. it appears, that in 10th. Ric: II. Richard Slingsby used for his coat a *Lion* rampant debruisè of *a bend*.

* Quarterly, 1. and 4. Or a Lion rampant Azure, armed and langued Gules; 2 and 3. Gules, three lucies hauriants Argent.

† Argent, three escalops Gules.

‡ Or, on two bars Gules, three water-budgets Argent.

§ Azure, on a chief Or a Lion issuant Gules.

|| Gules, a fesse of four fusils Argent.

Dawbeny: which Sir Henry Willoughbie was son of Robert Willoughbie of Wollaton and Margaret his wife, daughter of * Sir John Griffith of Witchinor.

Sir Thomas Percy, the father of Mary the wife of Francis Slingsby, was executed at Tyburn in 1537 for taking part in the Insurrection called "The Pilgrimage of Grace;" and his son Thomas, who was created anew Earl of Northumberland by Queen Mary, April 1557, was beheaded at York, August 22, 1572, for conspiracy against Queen Elizabeth; and his second son Henry, who succeded as Earl, being confined in the Tower on suspicion of being engaged in a plot in favour of Mary Queen of Scots, was found shot to death in his bed June 21. 1585. He (Sir Thomas Percy) was son of Henry Algernon fifth Earl of Northumberland and Catherine his wife, daughter and coheir of † Sir Robert Spencer K^nt^ of Spencercombe Co: Devon: and Alianore his wife, daughter and eventually coheir of ‡ Edmund Beaufort Duke of Somerset and Alianore his wife, daughter and coheir of § Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick: which Sir Robert Spencer was son of John Spencer of Spencercombe and .... his wife daughter of || Nicholas Latimer.

Henry Earl of Northumberland, father of Sir Thomas Percy, was son of Henry fourth Earl, who was murdered by the populace in 1489, and Matilda his wife, daughter of

* Gules, on a fesse indented Argent between six Lionceux rampants Or, three martlets Sable.

† Sable, two bars nebulè Ermine.

‡ Quarterly France and England, a bordure gobonè Ermine and Azure.

§ Gules, a fesse between six crosses crosslets Or.

|| Gules, a cross patonce Or, charged with five escalops Sable.

* William Herbert first Earl of Pembroke of that name, and Anne his wife, daughter of † Sir Walter Devereux: which Henry fourth Earl of Northumberland was son of Henry third Earl, and Alianore his wife, daughter and heir of ‡ Richard Lord Poyninges §. This lady died in 1598 aged 66; and her husband Francis Slingsby in 1600, aged 78; and were both buried in the Slingsby chapel in Knaresborough church.

They lie under an altar tomb, on which they are represented at full length, recumbent, of the size of life. He has under his head an Esquire's helmet, and is in a complete suit of armour, the standing ruff appearing at his throat. His sword lies by his left side fastened to his belt, and on his right, between himself and his Lady, along his thigh, lies his dagger, not in any way attached to his person. His feet rest on a Lion, the Slingsby Crest: hers on a crescent, the Percy badge, upon which seems at some time to have rested an additional cognizance. Hargrove, in his "History of Knaresborough," gives the

* Per pale Azure and Gules, three Lionceaux rampants Argent, within a bordure gobonè Or and Gules, each piece of the last charged with a bezant.

† Argent, a fesse Gules, in chief three torteaux.

‡ Barruly of six Or and Vert, a bend Gules.

§ Thus far the Pedigree is traced back in the exemplification of the sixteen quarterings ex parte paterna et materna of Sir Henry Slingsby the elder: but a few steps further carry the Percies, by two legitimate descents, into the Blood Royal: Henry Lord Percy, father of the first Earl of Northumberland, married Mary, daughter of Edmund Earl of Lancaster, Son of King Henry III.: Henry Percy second Earl of Northumberland was son of Henry Percy [Hotspur] (Son of the first Earl) and Elizabeth his wife, daughter of Edmund Mortimer Earl of March and Phillippa his wife, daughter of Lionel Duke of Clarence, Son of King Edward III.

following description of the Lady's figure. She "is habited in a long robe with folding plaits down to the feet; round which and her neck is a small frill; her head rests on a pillow; her hair combed back close under the cap, which is a plain one without border or lace. On the right side, upon the skirt of her robe, are the arms of Percy and Brabant, two quarterings appearing complete, the other two partly hid in the folds of the drapery." This description is correct, except that her head does not rest on the pillow, but is supported up from it by an unskilful representation of the head-tire falling backward: the hands of each figure are clasped on the breast.

The inscriptions on the pannels of this tomb are as follow: those in the compartments Nos. I. and II. on the South side are not now legible; they are however preserved in Dodsworth's M.S. quoted in the next note. The others are given from a transcript made in October 1835.

North Side, three pannels.

I	II	III
ILLA TAM GENERE QVAM VIRTUTE NO BILIS THO: ATQVE HEN: NORTHVB: COMITVM SOROR VNICA SINCERE RELIGIONIS CVL TRIX PIETATIS QVA SIDVS ALIQVOD CE LESTE HABEBATVR ÆTATIS SVE 66 CVM CORPVS MORTALITA TI COCESSIT TVM ANIMAM IMORTALITAi COMENDAVIT	CONDITI SVNT SVB HOC TVMVLO FRANCISCVS ET MARIA SLINGSBIE ILLE RELICTO ACADEMIE SPATIO REGIS HENRICI OCTAVI HIPPARCHO POST SERVIEBAT IN OBSIDIONE BVLLONICA IN PVGNA MVSSLE BERIENSI H.LE EQVITVM DVX DESIGNATVR	MARIA REGNANTE TINDALIANÆ CEN TVRIÆ PREFECTVS ET AVGVST: REGINA NOSTRA ELIZ: IM PERANTE IN LITI BVS GRAVISSIMIS COMPONENDIS CVM VICINIS SCOTIS ANo 1596 QVÆSITOR VNVS ADHIBETVR OBIIT AVG: 4: 1600 ÆTAT 78

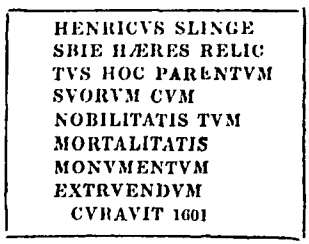
South Side,

I. Liberos habuerunt 12, filios 9, et tres filias in herbescente ætate mortuas; illorum 6 ad maturam ætatem

provecti se vitæ dediderunt aulicæ, et per exteras Galliæ Hispaniæ Lusitaniæ et Italiæ regiones peragrantes, etiam attingentes Indiam, Regiæ Majestat officia gratissima præstiterunt.

II. Septimus tamen, Theologiæ Baccalaureus, Rector Ecclesiæ de Northburie in Northumbria constitutus curæ se pastorali devovit.

III



In No II, South Side, Hargrove gives "Rothburie" which is the right name.

The wording of the midmost inscription on the North side is obscure, but it's meaning on the whole may be gathered. Round the rim of the tomb, immediately under the slab on which the figures lie, runs this inscription.

West side,

VNI TRINO DEO CONSECRATVM

North,

PERFECTV FVIT HOC OPVS P. HEN. SLINGESB MIL. 24 IVNII 1602.

South,

AN° ÆTAT. SVE 42. ET 5. MENS AN° ELIZ. RNE. 44

East,

MORS VITAM AVFERT ET AFFERT.

On the pannel at the west end is an escocheon of eight quarterings, 1. Slingsby. 2. Stodleigh which is here given, vair on a bend three eaglets displayed. 3. Scriven. 4.

Markington. 5. Walkingham. 6. Stavely which is here given, two bars, over all a fleur-de-lys. 7. Nessfield. 8. a Cross patonce, probably Melton, although the match is not stated to have been with an heiress of Melton. Over the escocheon is an Esquire's helmet, and enough of the crest remaining to shew that it was a Lion passant. The arms on the opposite pannel at the east end are entirely defaced.*

* Dodsworth has left the following memoranda of his survey of Knaresborough Church; all four windows have perished, and there is probably no other memorial of them extant.

"Knaresborough Church 28 Septemb. 1622

a very faire monument in the north quyer w^th^ the portraitures"

Then follows the Epitaph on the tomb of Francis and Mary Slingsby, and then these memoranda,

"In the north windowe

1. Armes. Ar a [mascle] sa. a woman kneling by it. vnder Dame Mary ffaukes.

[The Fawkes family was of Ferneley at the time of Glover's visitation in 1585: they bore, Ermine, a mascle Sable.]

2. B. a [figure resembling a fleur de lys] Or.

3. g. a [chevron] ent 2 liberds faces in chief & a bugle in base ar stringed or, a man & a woman kneling by it, vnderneath Thōs Knaresburt et————ux ei^s^.

another north wdow

a man in ar kneling, on his breast b. 5 fusells—fesse Or, his wiefe behind him, on her brest the former coat paled w^th^ ar a [inescocheon] ent. an orle of mtletts g, vnder Orate pro ãia plumpton et etiam pro ãia dni Willm̃i plumpton qui istam—anno—

qūrly b. 5 fusells in fesse Or, & sa a [bend] ent 6 [device tricked unintelligible] or paled with A an [inescocheon] ent 9 m̃tletts in orle g.

There is a quire in the south side called plumptons quyer w^ch^ belonged to a house in the towne called Wintringham hall

South window

p pale b. 3 [apparently fleurs-de-lys] ar paled w^th^ Or 3 pales sa.

This Francis Slingsby is commonly styled Knight, but he was not a Knight, as indeed would sufficiently appear from the absence of the title in the inscriptions, and from the Esquire's helmet over his arms on his tomb; but the entry of his funeral in the Register of the church is as follows,

"Mr. ffranciscus Slingsbie Aug. 4. 1600."

The mistake has arisen from the circumstance of his son Francis being a Knight, and from the inscription on the monument of his son Sir Henry, as will be seen further on. By his wife Mary (Percy) he had issue, (besides others who died young, and are not mentioned in the family pedigree, but appear in the Register of Burials of Knaresborough Church) three daughters; Eleanor, Anne, and Elizabeth who was Christened in Knaresborough Church April 5. 1567 and buried March 31. 1569, who all died without issue; and nine sons, 1. Thomas, who was drowned in the River Nidd while endeavouring to save his servant, in the year 1579, according to the family pedigree, and aged 28, but the following funeral entry in Knaresborough Church Register seems to apply to him,

"Mr. Thomas Slingsbie. Sep. 26. 1581."

2. Francis, first of that name, Christened May 26. 1569 in Knaresborongh Church, died. s.p. 3. Henry, first of

Beaucamp & Ros — p pale qurly 1. b. 3 [apparently fleur-de-lys] ar 2 qurly, 1. or a lyon rampt. B, 2, or 3 pales gul 3 as 2, 4 as 1. [i. e. both grand quarters and subdivisions] paled wt g 3 [water-budgets] ar, vnder Orate pro bono statu Thome Burgh.

another wdow

a counterfet cripple begging a cow of St Robt wch he gave vnto him and after the fellow had her he fell lame vt ferunt: this is a window made 1473."

Dods: MSS. in Bibl: Bodl: 160: fol. 186.

that name, christened March 17. 1582 in Knaresborough Church, died. s. p. 4. Henry eldest surviving son, of whom presently. 5. Arthur, died s. p. 1588. 6. Charles, Christened November 22. 1561 in Knaresborough Church, in Holy Orders, Bachelor of Divinity, Rector of Rotherbury Co: Northumb: married Elizabeth daughter of *John Ellis of Barneburgh Com: Ebor: and by her had issue, Thomas aged 27 and unmarried in 1617, Margaret married to Thomas Barret of the City of York, and Maria aged 20 and unmarried in 1617. 7. William, Knight, third surviving son and aged 55 in 1617. He was of Gray's Inn †. He travelled on the continent in 1594 and was detained at Como [see his letter in the Correspondence] by the Spaniards, the Duchy of Milan being then held by the King of Spain.

He was made commissary in 1596, and served in the fleet which was next year equipped against Spain. In the Landsdowne MS. 150, are two papers indorsed, "Goods taken out of the S^t. John Baptist & the Angell Gabriel by Capten Slingsby 13. Aug. 1602;" this Captain Slingsby was probably Sir William. He appears from this time to have been much at Court: he was made Honorary Carver (Cibicida or Trenchiator Honorarius) to Anne the Queen Consort, in 1603; and 1617 on the occasion of the King's progress to Scotland, was made one of the Deputy Lieutenants of the County of Middlesex. His country residence was Kippax in the west riding of Yorkshire, which he purchased of Francis Bailden Esq^re.‡

* Argent, on a cross sable five crescents Or.

† Harl. MS. 1487.

‡ Kimber.

He married Elizabeth daughter of *Sir Stephen Board of Board-Hill Co: Sussex: Kn^t. and his wife, daughter and coheir of Simon Montagu of Brixton co: Northampton:, and died August 1634 having by her had issue, 1. *William* Christened December 9. 1618 in Knaresborough church, died 1622. 2. *Elizabeth*, second wife of John Villiers Viscount Purbeck, elder brother of George first Duke of Buckingham of that name, by whom she had no issue. 3. *Henry*, Master of the Mint to King Charles II, and as such said to be author "of that notable Motto in our Coin, Decus et Tutamen,"† married a daughter of Sir . . . Cage Kn^t. and had issue, Henry, who married Katherine, daughter of Sir William Lowther of Great Preston K^nt. and died s. p. 1695, Anthony, who died unm. April 3. 1697 when the male issue of Sir William became extinct, and the estate descended to Elizabeth their sister, married to M^r Adlard Cage of Thavies Inn.‡

* Per fesse Gules and Sable, an Inescocheon within an orle of martlets Argents.

† MS. at Scriven.

‡ On the South wall of the Slingsby Chapel in Knaresborough Church is a monument to Sir William Slingsby. After describing the tomb of Francis and Mary Slingsby, Pennant says, "The next is a most beautiful memorial of Sir William Slingsby, who is represented standing in a nich, in an easy attitude. His head reclines a little on one hand, the elbow resting on the guard of his Sword; the other hand hangs down, and holds a shield, with the family arms. On his head is a high crowned hat; his hair and beard finely curled: he has on a buff jacket, loose breeches, boots and spurs. The body has a gentle and most elegant reclination. The whole is one of the best sculptures I have seen in our churches." The arms on the shield he holds in his hand are, 1 and 4, Scriven, 2 and 3 Slingsby supported by two Lions and resting on the back of a third.

8. Guilford, Knight, Christened October 7, 1565, in Knaresborough Church, entered of *Queen's College Oxford, March 23. 1581; was Comptroller of the Navy; married Margaret daughter of † William Water Alderman of York, (which Margaret was aged 34 in 1617) and by her had

Below the niche is this Inscription.

D. O. M.

Gulielmus Slingesbeius, Eques Auratus, ex inclyta
Slingesbeiorum Familia in agro Eboracensi oriundus,
Francisci optimi viri et Mariæ unice Sororis Thomæ et Henrici
Perci comitum Northumbriæ Feminæ Honoratissimæ et pientissimæ
Filius, Knaresburgi 29 Ian. Anno 1562 natus, in armis aula
et magistratu sub quatuor regibus sic claruit, ut in bello exercitus Eliz-
-abethæ quo oppidum classis insulaq Cadiz felicissime intercepta sunt muni-
tionum
publicarum commissarius Generalis anno 1596: in aula sub serenissimo Jacobo
Rege Annæ Reginæ illustrissimæ ad mensam Cibicida honorarius 1603. in ma-
-gistratu ab eodum Jacobo Rege Scotiam versus progediens Middlesexiæ
Comitatus primorum locum tenentiū unus sub magno Sigillo Angliæ
constitutus 1617: qui etiam negotia adeunda in singulis comissionibus pro
eiusdem comitatus regimine sub divo Carolo etiam cum laude transegit.

Vado sed nec me tædet vivere nec timeo mori, August. 1634.

Round the arch of the niche, on the outside, is written in Roman Capitals,

Redi anima mea in reqviem tvam cum Jehova Benificvs sit erga te.

The family Pedigree, a very skilful performance, was drawn under the inspection of Sir William and from the fruits of his research, as is recorded at the head of it, and his Achievement is painted upon it with the quarterings in full, differenced with the annulet for a fifth son. It seems a little singular that the herald and genealogist of the family, who had all his life borne his paternal coat in the first quarter, should be commemorated by a monument in which his favourite order of marshalling was reversed.

* Regist. Matric. Univ.

† Argent, on a chevron between three chess-rooks Sable, as many crescents Or.

issue, 1. * *Guilford* aged seven years in 1617. 2. † *Robert*, aged six years in 1617. 3. *Percie*. ‡ 4. *Walter* aged nine†

* Guilford was M.A. of S^t^. Andrews and was incorporated at Oxford November 14, 1629; he was Secretary to the Earl of Strafford, and by him was made Lieutenant of the Ordnance and Vice-Admiral of Munster: at the Earl's trial he managed his papers for him and gave evidence in his behalf. After the Death of the Earl he went abroad, but about the time of the Queen's return he came back, and in Cleveland in Yorkshire, where he possessed an estate, he levied a Regiment. He was attacked at Gisborough by Sir Hugh Cholmley, and in the engagement, which ended in the rout of his regiment, was wounded and taken prisoner. He was carried back to Gisborough, where both his legs were cut off above the knee in order to save his life, but he survived the operation only three days. He was buried in York Minster after a Sermon preached by Archbishop Bramhall, then Bishop of Derry. In Rushworth's "Tryal of Thomas Earl of Strafford" from which this note is principally drawn, will be found, pp. 774-5, a very interesting letter of the Earl, written after the passing of the bill for his Attaindor, to M^r^. Slingsby.

† There seems no reason to doubt that this was the Col. Robert Slingsby who with his brother Col. Walter Slingsby was at the siege of Bristol in 1645, and was of Prince Rupert's Council of war. He was created a Baronet March 16, 1660-1 and was Comptroller of the Navy to King Charles II; he died in October 1661. In Harl. MS. 6008, is a paper by him on the state of the Navy in 1660. Pepys mentions him frequently.

‡ Whitelock [Memorials p. 460] relates that, July 9, 1650, "an act passed for the trial of Walter Slingesby" and others "by an High Court of Justice." In the British Museum, among the books relating to the Grand Rebellion presented by his Majesty King George III, no. 466 is a small 18^mo^. volume entitled, "A Mission of Consolation. Usefull for all afflicted Persons. By W. S. [lingsby] London. Printed by. W. B. for John Williams, and are to be sold at the sign of the Crown in Paul's Church-yard. 1653. [April 8]". The enclosures in brackets are supplied in MS. in a hand of the date of the publication of the book. The Author states it to be written *in prison*.

years in 1627. 6. *George.* 6. *Francis.* *7. *Arthur* aged four years in 1627. 8. *William*; and four Daughters, *Dorothy* aged five years in 1617, married to Jeffrey Nightingale of Knesworth co: Cantab:, *Margaret, Maria,* and *Anne.*

9. Francis, Knight, of Kilmore near Cork, Constable of the Castle of Haulbowline, and of the Royal Council of the Province of Munster, probably through the interest of his brother Sir William Slingsby, with the Lord President of Munster Sir George Carew, afterwards Earl of Totness, in whose "Pacata Hibernia" he (Francis) is mentioned on several occasions with credit. In a letter, dated from Dublin August 8. 1599, to his brother [Sir] Henry Slingsby, he says "At the ende of this nexte Jurneye when all the gallantes are retourned (as I thinke very fewe will staye) it may be my lo: will caste his eyes vpon men of meaner quallitye; if then he shall do me any grace I will be willinge to take anye opportunitye if offered, if not I thinke I haue made suffitient triall for expectinge any preferment at his handes"; but the Earl of Essex, who is probably the Lord meant here, returned to England in September. In 1648 Sir Francis came over to England, having lost his estate in Connaught by the rebellion. He married in or before 1605, Elizabeth daughter and coheir of †Hugh Cuff of Cuff Hall Co: Somerset. In 1617, he was aged 48, and his wife 33. By her he had issue; two sons, *Francis,* aged 6 in 1617, and *Henry,* aged 5 in 1617, who appears to have been knighted, for his sister is said to have died at her brother Sir Henry's house: and five daughters, *Mary* aged 13 in

* Created Baronet at Bruges, October 9. 1657.

† Argent, on a bend dancettè Sable between two cottises azure bezantès, three fleures-de-lys of the field.

1617, *Katherine* 10, *Anne* 8, *Elizabeth* 3, and *Jane*. one of these daughters, but which is not known, was mother of the celebrated Henry Dodwell commonly known as "the Nonjuror". She is said in the Biographia Britannica to have died at the house of her brother Sir Henry.

Henry, fourth, but eldest surviving son of Francis and Mary Slingsby succeded to the representation of the family. He was Knighted in 1602 by Queen Elizabeth, was one of the Council of the North, and several times Vice-President*, and in 1611-2 was High-Sheriff of Yorkshire. He was embroiled, during the greater part of his life after the death of his father, in suits in the Duchy Court of Lancaster: and while prosecuting a suit in London during the year of his Shrievalty in 1612, he had the misfortune to be absent from the Summer Assizes at York; for which negligence the judges of Assize, Barons Altham and Bromley of the Exchequer, fined him £200, although he pleaded that he had appeared by his Deputy.

He married Frances, daughter of †William Vavasour of Weston Com: Ebor: and ....his wife, daughter and heir of ‡Sir Leonard Beckwith of Selby, Knight, and Elizabeth

* Drake in the list of Vice Presidents in his Eboracum, has not mentioned Sir Henry.

† Or, a fesse indented Sable.

‡ Argent, a chevron Gules frettè Or between three hinds' heads erased of the second, and on a chief Gules a saltier engrailed between two roses and as many fleurs-de-lys, the latter dimidiated at the extremities of the escocheon: so given in Harl: MS. 1487, and in the East window of the Chapel at Red-house, quartered by Vavasour with Cholmeley [see page 190]; but in the stained glass the roses are quatrefoils, and the colours are so much faded as to give the coat the appearance of being false heraldry. The coat was probably a grant to Robert Beckwith of Selby, father of Sir Leonard, and the

his wife, daughter and coheir of Sir Roger Cholmeley Knight, Chief Justice of England, (which Elizabeth was remarried to Christopher Keme of Keme Co: Somerset,*). Lady Slingsby was buried at Knaresborough, July 24, 1611. Sir Henry died at Nun-Monkton, December 17, 1634, and was buried in the Slingsby Chapel in Knaresborough Church on the 28th following. In the Slingsby Chapel on the North wall is a monument to him.

He is represented of nearly the size of life, standing in his winding sheet, his head bound round with a napkin: the figure is of white marble; it stands under an arch adorned with Grecian pillars, above which is placed the figure of an Angel blowing a trumpet, and over the Angel, in Roman Capitals, Venite ad Judiciū: on a black stone (which is now fast mouldering away) below the niche, this Inscription is still legible,

HIC IACET HENR. SLINGSBIE FILIVS
ET HÆRES FRANCISCI ET MARIÆ MENSE AP:
DE A° XLIIJ ELIZ. RN̄E MILIT. QVI OBIIT
DECEM. DIE 17. A°. DN̄I 1634 ÆTAT. SVÆ 74
AN̄OS ET 10 MENSES

first who appears in the Visitations. The dimidiation at the sides of the escocheon, of charges not semès, is not a character of English Heraldry: perhaps the following is as curious an instance of it, in as curious a coat, as may be met with, Per bend Argent and Gules, in fesse a rose, the sides of the escocheon flory of fleurs-de-lys all dimidiated lengthways, all counterchanged, the fleurs-de-lys in base Or; a bend of two lozenges enhanced Sable, on the uppermost a lion passant gardant, on the lowermost a fleur-de-lys of the third.

This was the coat of "S^r. ffrauncis Barnarde a Venitian" knighted in the 37th year of K. Hen. viij, and is given in a catalogue of Knights, MS. F. 17. in Queen's College Library, Oxford.

* Harl: MS. 1487.

and lower down on the stone two or three letters remain of the words recorded by Hargrove, but improperly printed by him as a part of the inscription above,

SED OMNIA VANITAS.

The words which Hargrove records as being in Roman Capitals "on the inside of the niche" viz. "mors mihi lucrū", are no longer visible. It is no doubt the Inscription on this monument which has mainly given rise to the mistake of calling Francis Slingsby, Knight. But it is clear that the "milit" here must refer to the Knighthood of Sir Henry, Francis Slingsby having died in 1600, 42nd. Eliz: The mistake of the Sculptor in putting "milit" for "miles" is besides evident from the Inscription itself, for, supposing the word to be, "milit", it must refer to the lady and not the husband.*

By his wife Frances, Sir Henry had issue, 1. William, killed at Florence, in 1617. s. p. 2. Henry, of whom presently. 3. Thomas, †said in the printed pedigrees to have died in France in 1617: was a Colonel in the King's Army during the Rebellion, and was at the siege of York, and had a fine set for his loyalty, in 1646: he died s. p. in February 1670, and was buried on the 11th of that month at Knaresborough. 4, 5. two other sons who died s.p: and nine daughters, 1. Elizabeth, Christened October 17. 1581 in Knaresborough Church, aged 37 in 1671, mar-

* There is a very fine whole length of Sir Henry, at Scriven, said to be by Vandyke.

† It is a little curious that this mistake should ever have been made, for in Guillim it is said, after the blazon of the coat of the family, "This is the Coat of Sir Thomas Slingsby of Redhouse in the County of York, Baronet, *and Colonel Thomas Slingsby his Uncle.*" Guillim, p. 312. ed. 1669.

ried to * Sir Thomas Metcalf, Kn^t. and had issue *Thomas*, *James* who was at Westminster School in 1620, and *Scroop*.† 2. Mary, Christened April 7, 1582, in Knaresborough Church, aged 34 in 1617, married to ‡ Sir Walter Bethell of Alne Com: Ebor: said by [the Editor of] Guillim to be "descended from the ap Ichels of North-Wales", and had issue *Sir Hugh Bethell Kn^t*, *Slingsby Bethell* §, Sheriff of London in 1680, *William Bethell*, D.D. Rector of Kirkby-Overblows Com: Ebor; *Walter Bethell*, ob: Nov: 1. 1686 ætat: 73, buried in S^t. Laurence Church York, *Frances* married to ‖ George Marwood of Little Busby Com: Ebor: who was created a Baronet Dec: 21, 1660, and at whose

* Argent, three calves passants Sable.

† Argent, three calves passant Sable, a mullet for difference in fess Gules, was the Coat of Cap^t. Scrope Medcalfe (a Yorkshire Man) who dy'd in the house of John Egerly against University College, in the Parish of St. Peter in the East, Oxon. He commanded the Troop belonging to the Governor of Oxon (. . . . Legg) when the Cavaliers beat up the Parliament Quarters at Thame, and receiving wounds there, died of them. He was buried in St. Peters Church in the East." MS. of Ant. a. Wood's Remarks de Com. Oxon. p. 77 quoted in Guillim, ed: 1724, p. 166.

See also the account of the skirmish, given by Anthony a Wood in his Diary p. 32.

‡ Argent, a chevron between three boars' heads coupèès Sable.

§ This gentleman wrote, "The interest of the Princes and States of Europe." "Observations on a letter written by the Duke of Buckingham to Sir Thomas Osborne." and, "The World's Mistake in Oliver Cromwell," which were published with a general title-page in 1694, when, it appears from the advertisement, the Author was alive. There is an octavo print of him in his Sheriff's robes, "Slingsby Bethell Esq^r. one of the Sheriffs of London & Midd^x. in the yeare 1680. Publish'd by W^m. Richardson July 1^st. 1800 York House N° 31 Strand."

‖ Gules, a chevron between three goats' heads erased Ermine.

house at Nun-Monkton Sir Henry Slingsby the Elder died. 3. Katherine, Christened July 3, 1584, in Knaresborough Church, married to *Sir John Fenwick Bar^t. of Northumberland, died 1616. 4. Alice, Christened October 26, 1585, aged 32 in 1617, married to Thomas Waterton of Yorkshire. 5. Anne, aged 26 in 1617, ob: s. p. 6. Frances, Christened December 26, 1594, in Knaresborough Church, married to †Brian Stapleton of Wighill, Com: Ebor: 7. Eleanor aged 16 in 1617, married to ‡Sir Arthur Ingram Kn^t. and had issue the first Viscount Irwin. 8, 9, two others, who died, s.p.

HENRY, second, but eldest surviving, son of Sir Henry and Lady [Frances] Slingsby succeded to the representation of the family. Some account of him will be found in the Preface. He was beheaded on the eighth of June 1658, and was buried in the Slingsby Chapel in Knaresborough Church. The Epitaph on his tomb is given at the end of the "Legacy": but, besides the Epitaph, the tomb bears on the side stone pannels, these arms following; on the West side, a Lion rampant double-queuè, Mallory; on the South side, a chevron between three [apparently] foxes' heads erased. There appear to have been other coats, now defaced. By his marriage with Barbara daughter of

* Per fesse Gules and Argent, six martlets counterchanged.

† Argent, a Lion rampant Sable.

‡ Ermine on a fesse Gules three Escalops Or.

From this match, besides others, sprang Elizabeth married to Robert Lord Rich of Kensington, eldest son of the Earl of Holland. This marriage will account for Sir Henry Slingsby the younger's intimacy with the Holland family—for his being married at Kensington—and for his choosing to serve with Lord Holland at the first breaking out of the Scotch Rebellion.

*Viscount Falconberg, he had issue, 1. Thomas, his successor, 2. Henry, one of the Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber to King Charles II, and appointed, in the Letters Patent incorporating the Royal Society, one of the first Council after it's incorporation†; and Barbara, married after the Restoration to ‡ Sir John Talbot of Lacock, Com: Wilts:

Sir Thomas succeded to his Father's title. He was made High Sheriff of Yorkshire immediately upon the Restoration, and was appointed Governor of Scarborough Castle in 1670. He married Dorothy daughter and coheir of George Cradock Esqre. of Caversall Castle Co: Staff: and .... his wife, daughter of Dr. Saunders Provost of Oriel College Oxford, who after Mr. Cradock's death was re-married to Sir Orlando Bridgeman. Dorothy, Lady Slingsby, was buried in the Slingsby Chapel in Knaresborough Church, February 2, 1673. There is a plain monument to her, standing against the South West pillar in the Chapel, bearing this Inscription,

Here lyes the body of
Dorothy Slingesby, late wife of
Sr. Tho. Slingesby, of Scriuen, Bart.
Daughter & coheir of Geo. Cradok
Of Careswell Castle in Staffordshire
Esquire. Shee dyed ye 24th of Jan 1673.
By whome hee had 3 sons, Henry, Tho,
And George, and 3 dauters, Dorothy, Eliz. & Barbara.

* Quarterly, 1 and 4, Argent, a chevron Gules between three fleurs-de-lys Azure; 2 and 3, Argent, a pale engrailed between two endorses Sable.

† Sprat's Royal Society.

‡ A lion rampant within a bordure engrailed. This coat was used by Sir John Talbot, as appears by the impressions of his seal still remaining;

and these arms; Per pale, Baron, Quarterly Scriven and Slingsby: Femme, on a chevron three garbs*.

Sir Thomas died in or about 1685, having by his wife Dorothy had the issue enumerated in her Epitaph. Of these, Henry and Thomas, were successively Baronets, George, Dorothy, and Eliza appear to have died young; Barbara, was thrice married, *first* to †Sir Richard Mauleverer of Allerton Mauleverer Com: Ebor: Bart.; *secondly* to ‡John, Lord Arundel of Trerice (being his second wife) by whom she had issue one son, Richard, member of Parliament for Knaresborough from 1722 to 1758, and Surveyor of his Majesty's works; which Richard Arundel married, September 2, 1732, the Lady Frances Manners, sister of the third Duke of Rutland; *thirdly* to §Thomas Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, (being his second wife) by whom she had issue a daughter, Barbara, married, October 3, 1730, to ‖Dudley North Esq^re^ of Glemham Hall, Co: Suff:

Sir Henry, M. P. for Knaresborough in 1685, succeded his father Sir Thomas, and dying s.p. 1692, was succeded by his brother,

Sir Thomas, who married April 12. 1692, at Methley, Sarah daughter of **John Savile Esq^re^. of Methley, and by

but the Yorkshire Talbots bore, Argent, three Lions rampants Purpure. See Harl: MS. 1487, fol. 405.

* These arms were used also by a branch of the Cradocks who took the name of Newton: See Fenton's Pembrokeshire, p. 276, and Guillim, p. 125, ed. 1724.

† Gules, three greyhounds courants in pale Argent.

‡ Sable, six swallows, 3, 2, 1, Argent.

§ Per pale Azure and Gules, three Lionceux rampants Argent.

‖ Azure, a Lion passant between three fleurs-de-lys Argent.

** Argent, on a bend Sable three Owls of the field.

her had issue, four daughters; Mary, maid of Honour to Queen Anne, married, August 18, 1714, at Moor-Monkton, to *Thomas Duncombe Esq^re^. of Helmsley, from which match the present Lord Feversham descends; Sarah, Barbara, and Jane, died s.p; and four sons,

1. Sir Henry, who was entered of University College Oxford, Sep^tr^. 30, 1710, aged 17; he married Jane, daughter of †John Aislabie Esq^re^. of Studley, Chancellor of the Exchequer, by whom (who died at Beaconsfield Co: Bucks: May 31. 1736)‡ he had no issue. He was Member of Parliament for Knaresborough in several Parliaments; and dying in 1763 was succeded by his next brother,

2. Sir Thomas, who was many years blind and died s.p.

3. Sir Savile, who, as a younger son, had been bred a Merchant; he died s.p. 1780.

4. Charles, a barrister, who dying before his last elder brother, never succeded to the title, but, having married a §Miss Turner of the Turners of Kirkleatham, had issue, besides one daughter, Sarah, who died s.p, one son who succeded his uncle as,

Sir Thomas Turner. He was entered of Queen's College Oxford, April 26. 1759 aged 18; and was High Sheriff in 1785.‖ He married twice; *first*, October 28,

* Per chevron engrailed Gules and Argent, three talbots heads erased counterchanged.

† Gules, three lozenges in fesse between three lions' heads erased Or.

‡ Kimber.

§ Sable, on a cross Argent four fer-de-moulins of the field.

‖ By a mistake in the reference in Playfair's British Family Antiquity (vol. viii. p. 214.), he is called the author of the Memoirs, i. e. the Diary.

1773, at Kippax, Catherine daughter of the *Rev^{d} . . . Buckley, Vicar of Kippax, by whom (who died January 16. 1778.) he had issue two sons; Thomas, born January 10, 1775, Christened in Knaresborough Church, June 11 following, and Charles, born March 17, 1777. *Secondly*, October 25. 1781, at Moor-Monkton, Mary, natural daughter of his uncle Sir Henry, by whom (who died February 18. 1815) he had no issue. He died April 11, 1806, and was succeded by his eldest son,

Sir Thomas, who was entered of Queen's College Oxford, in 1793; and was High Sheriff in 1821. He died at Brighton in February 1835, s.p, and was buried in the Slingsby Chapel, in Knaresborough Church.†

Charles, second son of Sir Thomas Turner Slingsby, married, October 1, 1823, at Ripley, Emma Margaret, daughter of ‡ John Atkinson Esq^{re}. and dying in 1832 was buried in the Slingsby Chapel in Knaresborough Church, having by her had issue, one daughter, Emma Louisa Catherine, born February 6, 1829, and one son,

Sir Charles, born August 22, 1824, who succeded to the Title at the death of his uncle Sir Thomas, and is the present Baronet.

* Sable, a chevron between three bulls' heads cabossed Argent.

† A Mezzo-tint engraving of Sir Thomas was published in the spring of this year [1836], from a painting made from memory by M^{r}. S. Howell, of Foley Place.

‡ Gules, an Eagle double-tete displayed Argent, and on a chief Or a rose between two martlets Sable.

Omission in the Genealogy.

Page 387, after the words "*for John had issue by his wife Agnes,*" insert,

two sons; William, who died s.p. 1306, and,

JOHN, surnamed of Stodleigh, who married Margaret, daughter of Richard, son of Sampson Azerley, or Asserlawe,* and by her had issue,

WILLIAM, surnamed of Stodleigh, &c.

* Harl: MS. 1487, and D^{r}. Bandinel's MS.

THE TRIAL OF SIR HENRY SLINGSBY.

The severall Tryals of Sir Henry Slingsby, Kt. John Hewet D.D. and John Mordant Esq; for High Treason In Westminster-Hall. Together with the Lord President's Speech before the Sentence of Death was pronounced against the afore named Sir H. Slingsby and Dr. Hewet, being the 2. of Iune, 1658. *At which time the said Mr Mordant was by the Court acquitted. As also the manner of their Execution on Tower-Hill, the* 8. *of June following, with the substance of their Speeches on the Scaffold. London, Printed in the year,* 1658.*

The substance of what passed on Tuesday the 25. of May 1658. at the Tryall of Sir Henry Slingsby Kt, in Westminster-Hall, &c.

THE High Court being set, and the Names of the Commissioners being called, The Serjeant at Armes was commanded to fetch the Prisoner to the Bar. Sir *Henry Slingsby* was brought accordingly to the Bar. Then Proclamation made for silence, and the Commission for Tryal of the Prisoner read. Proclamation for silence again was made, Then Mr. Attorney General *Prideaux* exhibited a Charge of High Treason against Sir *Henry Slingsby* the Prisoner, which was read: the substance of which Charge was as followeth, *viz.*

* This is the title-page of the original edition of the trial.

That the Town of Kingston *upon* Hull *in the County of* Kingston *upon* Hull *in* England, *on the* 11. *of* Octob. 1656. *and ever since unto the day of the exhibiting of this Charge, was, and hath been, and is yet a Town belonging to this common-wealth, where there is a Garrison, and a great part of the Army and Forces belonging to this common-wealth: That Sir* Henry Slingsby *late of* Redhouse *in the county of York Knight, minding and intending to imbroil this common wealth in intestine wars, the* 30. *of* April *last, and divers times since the* 10. *of* Octob. 1656. *and before the said* 30. *of* April *last, as a false Traytor and Enemy then and yet to his Highness* Oliver *Lord Protector of these Nations, together with one* Robert Gardiner *and* Edward Chapman; *and with one* William Smith *of the said county of* York *Gentlemen, and divers others, did traiterously, advisedly and maliciously combine together, and plot and contrive to betray and yield up the said Garrison of* Hull *unto* Charles Stuart *eldest son of the late King* Charles, *now an Enemy to this common-wealth.*

That the said Sir Henry Slingsby *by like traiterous combination, the said* 30. *of* April *last, and divers times after the said* 10. Octob. 1656. *did traiterously and maliciously plot and contrive, and endeavour to stir up mutinies within the said Garrison, to withdraw* Ralph Waterhouse, Iohn Overton, Geo. Thompson &c. *Officers of the same from their obedience to his Highness* Oliver *Lord Protector.*

That then and there, and at divers other times as well before as after the said 30. April *last, and after the said* 10. Octob. 1656. *he the said Sir* H. Slingsby *did traiterously, advisedly and maliciously plot, contrive and endeavour to stir and raise up Forces against* Oliver *Lord Protector,*

and against the Government of this Commonwealth as the same is established, and to alter the same.

That the said Sir Henry Slingsby *did traiterously &c. then and there declare, publish and promote the said* Charles Stuart *to be king of* England, Scotland and Ireland, *and the Dominions thereto belonging, and held correspondence with him. All these things the said Sir* Henry Slingsby, *at* Kingston *upon* Hull *aforesaid, did maliciously &c. carry on by conferring with the said Officers how to effect the aforesaid Treason, and encouraging the said officers thereunto by promising to them and every of them rewards and summes of money to joyn with him in the Treason aforesaid, and by delivering to the said* Ralph Waterhouse, *one of the Officers of the Garrison, a certain Instrument under Seal, which the said Sir* H. Slingsby *said was from* Charles Stuart, *and did purport to be a Commission from the said* Charles Stuart, *to him the said* R. Waterhouse *to be Governor of the Castle. All which said Treasons are contrary to the Statute in that case made and provided. With which Treasons the said Attorney General, on behalf of the Lord Protector, &c. doth charge the said Sir* H. Slingsby, *and prays that the said Sir* H. Sl. *may be put to answer thereto, averring that the said Sir* H. Slingsby *is the person by name appointed by His Highness the Lord Protector to be tried and proceeded against. Signed, May* 25. 1658.

Edm. Prideaux.

Lord President. Thou here standest charged for High-Treason; This Court requires that thou give a positive answer, whether guilty or not guilty.

Sir H. Slingsby. *I desire to have Counsel assigned me.*

L. Pres. There is matter of Fact laid to your charge, which amounts to Treason, and there is no Law allowed in matters of Fact.

Sir H. Sl. *There is also matter of Law; and I desire to be tryed by a Jury, which is according to the Law of the Land.*

L. Pres. We are all here your Jury as well as your Judges; we are the number of two or three Juries, and your Jury is well known, for they are chosen by the Parliament; you are to plead to your Indictment.

Sir H. Sl. *I desire to know whether there can be any conviction, unless it be by confession?*

L. Pres. If you had looked upon the Act of Parliament, that would have told you; it speaks of examination of witnesses, it speaks of your confession, and answer, and of your Default; and if you do not plead to it, will be very penal to you.

Sir H. Sl. *If it be by the Laws of the Land, that the Trial should be by a Jury; I desire I may have that priviledge.*

L. Pres. Acts of Parliament make Justice and Law, they are both; they think fit to change the custom of Trials that have been in former times, and all persons must submit to it: And the Parliament hath thought fit to make this Court both Jury and Judges; and therefore I require that you answer, whether Guilty or not Guilty.

Sir H. Sl. *I desire that the Act of Parliament may be read.*

L. Pres. You are before your Jury and Judges; Parliaments have great care of the Rights of the people, and have appointed this Court, and His Highness hath appointed you to be tried by us, you ought therefore to plead to your Indictment.

Sir H. Sl. *The Law gives liberty in case of Juries to the Party accused, to make his Exceptions against the Jury, which he cannot do here, where you are both Judge and Jury.*

L. Pres. If you have any particular Exception to any man, you may make it; you were Sir of the Parliament when this Act was made.

Sir H. Sl. *I was a Prisoner at the same time.*

L. Pres. Although a Prisoner, yet you are bound by Act of Parliament.

Mr Phelps, Clerk. You have heard your Charge read, and Plea demanded; the Court again requires of you, that you give a positive Answer, whether Guilty or not?

Sir H. Sl. *I am (my Lord) of an opinion, (though you may account it a Paradox) that I cannot trespass against your Laws, because I did not submit to them.*

L. Pres. All the People of *England* must submit to the Laws of *England,* to the Authorities of *England,* all must submit to my Lord Protector and acts of Parliament: We sit here by Authority of his Highness, by a Commission under the great Seal of *England,* and by Authority of Parliament, and you must submit to our Authority.

Sir H. Sl. *The Laws have been so uncertain with me, that I could not well know them, and when I was a Prisoner I could not take notice of them, I could have no benefit by your Laws, because that is no Law to me which doth not give me interest and property to what I have; It is the benefit of Laws, that they do distinguish between* meum *and* tuum; *but when you take all from me, in my case it is not so.*

Mr. Attor. Gen. Prideaux. He may enjoy as much benefit by the Laws as any, if he have not forfeited it, and I desire he may be put to answer.

L. Pres. The Court again require you to plead to your Indictment.

Sir H. Sl. *Not Guilty.*

Mr. Phelps. Your Plea then is, that you are not Guilty, To which, *Sir H. S.* answered, Yes.

Mr. Lichmore. Mr. Attorney General having exhibited a Charge of High-Treason against this Gentleman, *Sir H. Sl.* the Prisoner at the Bar; The Charge doth set forth, That the Town of *Kingston upon Hull, Octob.* 11. 1656. and ever since, to the time of exhibiting of the Charge, was a Town of this Common-wealths; and that within that Town, in all that time, there is, and hath been a Garrison, and part of the Army of this Common-wealth; and during that time *Ralph Waterhouse, John Overton, George Thompson*, &c. were Officers of the Forces of that Garrison. That *Sir H. Slingsby*, minding to imbroil the Common-wealth in war, *April* 30. last, and divers other times since, *Octob.* 10. 1656. as a false Traitor and Enemy to his Highness the Lord Protector, did plot contrive and endeavor to betray the said Town and Garrison, to *Charles Stuart*, an Enemy to this Common-wealth. It sets forth further, that *Sir H. Slingsby*, the time and place aforesaid did contrive and endeavour to stir up mutinies among the Souldiery of that Garrison, and to raise Forces against this Common-wealth; And that he did Publish and Declare the said *Charles Stuart* to be King of *England, Scotland*, and *Ireland, &c.* And hath held Correspondence with him. And that he delivered to the said *Ralph Waterhouse* a certain Instrument which he said was a Commission from *Charles Stuart:* All which Treasons are contrary to the form and effect of the Act of Parliament; and the Prisoner having pleaded Not Guilty, which Plea is

Recorded, we are ready to prove him Guilty, and ready to call our witnesses.

Mr. Attor. Gen. You have heard the Charge and Plea, Not Guilty, it rests upon us to prove it to you This Gentleman himself (I beleeve) when he hath heard them particularly opened, will be convinced that of these Acts he hath been Guilty. It would not have been expected from him to have tasted of the mercy of this Court: For had he had justice done formerly, he had not been to have answered this here.* I do beleeve it was expected from those that did govern, to have got him off by mercy, not to take him off by justice; but he ceaseth not to interpose on the behalf of *Charles Stuart*, and endeavoured to bring him in again, and had like to have withdrawn the faithfull Officers of that Garrison to betray their trust, if money would have done it, that was not wanting to be offered; if preferment would have wrought upon them, that was proffered; if hopes of higher preferment under *Charles Stuart* would have wrought upon them, it would have been done. But to our witnesses.

†*Ralph Waterhouse* sworn.

Mr. Attor. Gen. What discourse had you with *Sir H. Slingsby* touching the delivering up of *Hull*?

Mr. Waterh. I had several discourses with him. Particularly, about the latter end of *December* last, being a hunting; Sir *H. Slingsby's* Son came to me in the field, and told me his Father presented his service to me, and

* See preface.

† See his deposition taken before the trial, in Thurloe's State Papers, vol. vii. p. 123.

gave me a Book which I looked on about an hour after, and found it was a Printed Book; at the beginning was a paper thus written, *Put this out with your finger, and then tell me whether* Rob. Gardiner *had not spoke to me to serve the King &c.* presently after I acquainted Col *Smith*, who advised me to discover if I could whether Sir *H. Slingsby* was carrying on any Plot. I went to Sir *H. Slingsby*, and Sir *H. S.* took me to the window side, and hugged and embraced me; and asked me if *Robert Gardiner* had not spoke to me to serve the King: And then began with a great many good words, and said that one (meaning His Highness) had put a disrespect upon me, and if I would I might right myself, with many other words; and promised me a sum of money to secure the South-house for the service of the King. About a week after he sent the Book again, and in the same leaf wrote a few lines more, which I also shewed to Col *Smith;* he promised me 5000*l.* in land or money here or elsewhere: I made many Queries, and told him I thought it was to no purpose; he told me that if that House were secured, in a little time he would bring an Army to besiege *Hull*, and then half our work would be done. He after sent me another Paper which was to this purpose, That if the Governor sought for him, he would give security for his peaceable living; and said, if I would give him a Piece, he would make it twenty if he did not procure me a Commission from *C. Stuart* within fourteen daies; he said further, that a great party were in engaged in *Scotland.* upon the second of *April* he delivered to me a Commission, which he said was from the King, and the Commission being read in Court, the said Mr. *Waterhouse* averred it to be the same he received of Sir *Henry Slingsby*, and which ran thus,

C. R.

CHARLES *by the Grace of God* (with the old usual Title, &c.) *To our right Trusty and Well-beloved Maj.* Ralph Waterhouse; *We do by these presents constitute and appoint you to be Governor of the Castle and two Block-houses near* Hull, *and to put such a Garrison of Horse and Foot therein, as you shall judge necessary for the defence of the same; and to command the said Garrison as Governor thereof, and to do all things necessary for the preservation of the said place. Given at* Bruges, March 12. 1657.

Sir H. Slingsby also said to me, that he had spoken with *Capt. Overton*, and promised to furnish him with money to lay in provision, and engaged by a Bond to repay such money, as I should lay out for the victualling of the South-house. And also read a letter from *C. Stuart* running thus, *I can never be enough sensible of your favours, &c* *. I demanded how the Army should come;

* In Thurloe's State Papers, vol. iv. p. 680, the King's letter is given as follows:

"April 16. 1656 [N.S.]

If I have said nothing to you of the sense I have had of your troubles, since you fell into them, it was for fear of encreasing them; but now that I have met with a secure way of writing to you, I cannot forbear to let you know, that I shall never forget the care of your sufferings, and that I hope it will not be long before you are freed from them. The particular reason of my hopes and present desires, to you I refer to the person by whose conveyance you will receive this, remaining

Yours.

Indors'd thus by Secretary Thurloe.

Charles Stewart's letter of the 16th of April 1656, to Sir Henry Slingsby, brought by J. Cooper, and delivered to John Walters to be carryed to Slingsby. It was delivered to me by Walters the 16th of April old style: haveinge taken a copy thereof I gave it to Walters to be carryed, as he had direction."

he answered, that the Duke of *York* had 7 or 8000 men, that the King of *Spain* would furnish them if there was a place of security, and asking him what way of correspondence he had with *C. Stuart*, he said he had a way of having Commissions from *C. Stuart* which he would not discover. Here Sir *H. Slingsby* stood up and disowned any such expression.

Mr. At. Gen. What Officer were you Mr. *Waterhouse?*

Mr. Waterh. I have the command of a Company, and of the *South-Block-house.*

Mr. At. Gen. Mr. *Waterhouse,* what Letter was that Sir *H. Slingsby* sent to his Son?

Mr. Wat. The Contents were thus, That *Harry* would speak to the two men to be very importunate with the Twelve.

Sir *H. Slingsby* promised so many men. That he offered Capt. *Overton* 20*l.* to raise Forty men.

Mr. At. Gen. How many men did he tell you should be at *Paul* near *Hull?*

Mr. Wat. 600 to March into *Hull.*

Mr. At. Gen. What men did he tell you *Andrew* would raise?

Mr. Wat. He said *Andrew* would raise 50 or 60 men when he pleased; and that Capt *Overton* should have a deputation to command the Castle under me; he said he had good hopes of Col. *Smith,* and that he had a Commission for him if he would accept of it.

Sir H. Sl. *This which is here spoken in seriousness, was then spoke in mirth, a meer Discourse as those that are in good fellowship may have, and what I said or did was but in jest.*

L. Pres. There ought to be no good fellowship in Treason.

Mr. Wat. I never visited him but by Col *Smiths* Commission. Sir *H. Slingsby* according to his Engagement upon receit of a Piece gave me another Commission running thus; *Oliver Lord Protector, &c.* took it again and burned it.

Mr. Att. Gen. Sir *Henry*, was it you that filled up that blank Commission?

Sir H. Sl. *It is more then any man knows; But it is not the Commission I gave* Waterhouse *which is dated* 12 March, 1657.

* *Capt John Overton* sworn.

Mr. Phelps, shewed him the Commission dated 12. *March*, 1657.

Mr. Att. Gen. Did you see that Commission delivered to *Waterhouse* by Sir *H. Slingsby?*

Capt. Overton. Yes, I did, he delivered it to him in the Castle, about the second of *April* last.

Sir H. Sl. *Mr.* Overton, *what date did that Commission which I then delivered, bear.*

Capt. Overt. This is the same Commission, and (having it in his hand) I here see it is dated 12 *March*, 1657.

Sir H. Sl. *I deny that the Commission I then delivered did bear that date.*

Waterh. } My Lord, We are upon our Oaths.
Overton. }

C. Overt. I saw Sir *H.* give it to Major *Waterhouse* in his own Chamber in the Castle of Hull, and Maj. *W.* bid me read it, which I did.

Sir H. Sl. *Was that Commission which you read dated* 12. *March?*

* See his deposition taken before the trial, in Thurloe, vol. vii. p. 121.

Cap. Overton reads the copy of it which he then wrote from the original, which agreed with this.

Sir H. Sl. *I deny that the Commission then delivered was of that date.*

Waterh. } Both deny the altering of the date.
C. Over. }

Sir H. Sl. Maj. *Waterhouse desired me to alter the date of the Commission, and I scraped out* April *and the day, and put in* March.

Capt. Overton Examined.

Mr. At. Gen. What Treaty was between Sir *H.* and you at *Hull?* are you an Officer there?

C. Ov. Yes.

Mr. At. Gen. How long have you been an Officer there?

C. Ov. About ten years.

Mr. At. Gen. What proceedings was there between Sir *H.* and you? What meetings had you? &c. was he your prisoner?

C. Ov. He was my Prisoner; The first time he spake any thing to me was on 18 *Febr.* last, when he told me, he thought me the strictest man alive with Prisoners, but now would believe the contrary; said, that I searched a man of his for a Letter, but afterwards to prevent me he gave his Letter in a Purse with some money to his Landress who carried it into the Town, and sent it away, and after that (he told me) I never found any Letter. I told him if he wanted any thing necessary I would go to the Governor about it; he told me it was not much for that, but that I might very much befriend him. He wrote to me, that a Colonel (naming him) was engaged to bring six Regiments from the King, asking whether I knew my men were right for me, and particularized one *Clark*, I told him he was

right: he asked me what I thought of 100*l.* to give them, I told him they did not use to have such great Gratuities. This was 18 *Febr.* 1657.

28. *Febr.* He asked me where the Sallyport was, I told him it was twenty yards from the Castle. He told me, some Prisoners not long ago intended to make an escape that way, but were prevented, and asked me which way it entered into the Castle, which way I could let in any men into the Castle, That I should not want money; whether I could tell how to victual the Castle; he would be glad if I could do it. He told me that the King kept his designs so close that none knew of them, and that it was not known whether he would land at *Hull* or *Scarborough.*

3 *March.* He asked me whether I continued my Command, I told him I knew nothing to the contrary, to which he shewed much gladness; he told me Duke *Dassy* was to bring a considerable party, but staid so long that the rest were gone. 6 *March* he asked me what news, and said that *Chapman* had assured his Son the Town was too strong for the Garrison, and asked me who I knew in the Town to be right, I told him *Edw. Chapman* was not for the Soldiery.

March 14. I told him, that his old Master *C. Stuart* was about to set sail with 7 or 8000 men. He said, that the King was more private then to let any man know his design: But asked me, whether I was ready to receive him? *March* 23. Sir *H. Slingsby* being below in our chamber, told me that I had a fit opportunity to receive such men as might be right for me. I told him I thought I could not have half my number. He told me, he was glad I would serve the King; and said, that if he had any favour from the King, I should not want any thing: He

told me he had assurance, that any that assisted the King, when he first came to kiss his mother Earth, he would give them 4 or 5000l. That he would furnish me with money; And desired that I would not shoot any great Bullets at King *Charls's* men when they were landing. And further told me, that if I would take a Deputation to command under Major *Waterhouse*, he would procure it. On *April* 2. Sir *H. S.* told Major *Waterhouse* that he had a Commission for him to be Governor of *Hull*, and I saw him deliver a Parchment-Commission to Major *Waterhouse*.

Mr. At. Gen. If Sir *H.* hath any thing to object, he may.

Sir H. Sl. *I see that I am trepan'd by these two fellows; They have said that serously against me which was spoken in mirth between us; I never sought to them, but they to me; the Commission was procured by no intercourse with any persons beyond the Seas, but a blank which I had for four years together. Nor had I any correspondence beyond Sea to carry on any design here.*

* *Lieutenant George Thomson* sworn.

Being asked what Officer he was, he answered, I am a Lieutenant to Major *Waterhouse*, I was desired to go and see Sir *H. Slingsby* 16 *April*, who told me That he had great confidence in me, I said to him, why? he told me he thought I had good thoughts of the King; his Son told me he heard the King was to come in, and to bring in a considerable Army, but knew not when. Next day I went again to Sir H. and asked him if he would walk on the Leads, which he did, and there I told him I had been

* See his deposition taken before the trial, in Thurloe, vol. vii. p. 113.

pondering on the words he last spoke to me, who then hugging me said, I have a great deal of confidence in you, there is a design in agitation to bring in the King with a considerable Army, but he did not know how soon it would be; but told me, I should have notice of it: and said that the King had promised Pardon to all Officers but the Lord Protector and Lord *Bradshaw.*

Sir H. Sl. *I confess such like discourses; but* ——— Waterhouse *spoke to me that I would speak to* Thomson *to try whether he would be assistant, but I told him I would not, least he should not accept it, and then turn him out of his place.* Waterhouse *pressed me to go to* Thomson, *and M.* Waterhouse *invited us to his house to Dinner, after Dinner he spoke to* Thomson *to go with me on the Leads to shew me the Guns, we walked about, and came down again; then said* Waterhouse *to me, did not you speak to* Thomson? *I said not: you had a good opportunity, said he. At last* Thomson *came to me, and I had some discourse with him about it.*

L. Pres. Sir *H. S.* have you any thing else to say?

Sir H. Sl. *No, my Lord.*

Then Mr. Mr. Serjeant *Maynard* summed up the Charge, Plea, and Evidence, and eloquently set forth the fulness and clearness of the Evidence with the heynousness of the offence, and demanded the Judgment of the Court.

Mr. At. Gen. I shall not trouble you with repetition, the matter being clearly laid open; the place where this acting was, and where the design was laid, was, I may safely say, the most considerable place in *England* for *Charles Stuart's* design; a place strongly seated and scituated and remote from this City, and had he prevailed there, as he endeavoured, it had not been peace with us that now are

here: And truly my Lord, I cannot but pitty those Gentlemen that are thus drawn into designs which I am confident will never take; and I am sorry that people should be so seduced as they are, for their seducers bring them to the Gallows, and then laugh at them. And (my Lord) I pitty this Gentleman (pointing at Sir H.) that those gray hairs should thus go to the Grave; I have no more to say, but crave the justice of this Court.

The Serjeant at Arms was commanded to take away the Prisoner.

Proclamation for adjournment of the Court into the Painted Chamber.

After a little private Debate in the Painted Chamber they adjourned till *Thursday* next nine in the morning.

Thursday May 27. being appointed for the meeting of the same Court, about ten of the Clock they accordingly met in the Painted Chamber *Westminster;* where after about two hours private debate they adjourned till *Tuesday* next, the first day of *June.*

2 *June* 1658.

The Lords Commissioners met in the *Painted Chamber* about 10 in the morning and there continued till about 4 a clock afternoon, and then adjourned into *Westminster Hall,* where Proclamation being made, the names of the Lords Commissioners being read.

Mr. *Serj.* was commanded to bring Dr. *Hewet,* Sir *H. Slingsby* and Mr *Mordant* to the Barr.

Proclamation for silence was made.

Mr. Phelps. Si. *H. S.* Stand at the Barr, and heare what the Court hath to say to you.

Mr. At. G. My Lord, as for Sir H. *Slingsby* and Mr. *Mordant*, you have heard the impeachment read, and their *Pleas;* I have given in the evidence, I pray your judgment as to them: as for the other, you have heard the impeachment, and no defence; I pray your justice.

L. Pres. Sir *H. S.* Knight, thou hast been impeached on the behalfe of the Lord Protector and this Commonwealth of High Treason to which thou hast pleaded Not guilty, which the Court hath taken into consideration; What hast thou to say further, why this Court should not proceed to Judgement?

S. H. Sl. My Lord, I humbly desire I may be try'd by a Jury, for I must say you "are my Enemies, (pardon the expression;) if not so, why did you Sequester me, and sell my whole estate? and why did you deny me the Act of Oblivion? There is no man would willingly appeale to his adversaries; there are some among you that have been instrumental in my Sequestration, and in the selling of my Estate, for which they gave me no reason but this, that I would not compound, when I thought not fit so to doe, when there was no establishment or setled peace; if I had compounded, I had not been sure whether I might not have compounded over again; my Estate hath been Sequestred, and sold; now to be my Judge and Jury. I humbly pray, being a Commoner, I may be try'd by Commoners."

L. Pres. S. *H. Sl.* I am not to heare you as to any of these things, (you have pleaded already) this is not a time of pleading, but a time of judgment; Therefore I must require your silence, and heare me a few words. S. *H. Sl.* I am really, &c.

The Lord Presidents Speech.

Sir *Henry Slingsby*, I am really and truly afflicted for your sad condition, but when I consider the nature of your Offence, with the circumstances and aggravations of your Treason committed; when I consider your person; and that such a person as you are, should be instrumental in so detestable a Conspiracy, and when I think of that Judgement that must be given against you, methinks you are one of the saddest Spectacles that ever I beheld in all my days, I beseech God that you may seriously lay it to your heart, with sorrow and repentance, and that you may be more sensible of what you have done, then of what you are to suffer.

Sir, Was it not a great aggravation of the sins of the Egyptians, that when God had declared himself by so many signs and wonders on the behalf of the Israelites, that yet notwithstanding they would still pursue *Moses* and Israel? was not this a great aggravation of their sin?

Who is so great a stranger in this Nation as to be ignorant what God hath done amongst us, by a series of wonderful Providences so many years together against that very party who are still hatching of Treasons and Rebellions amongst us? It grieves my very soul to think of it, that after so many signal Providences, wherein God seems to declare himself (as it were by signs and wonders) that your heart should be still hardened, I may say, more hardned then the very hearts of the Egyptians; for they at length did not only see, but but confessed that the Lord fought against them; but you, O that you would confess, and give glory to God. You cannot chuse but see that the Lord fights against you, that the stars in their courses fight against you, and yet you will not see, you will not

confess, until destruction over-takes you. This is a sad lamentation, and I beseech God that you may seriously consider it.

Sir, If the signal and the wonderful Providences of God will not deter you, yet methinks National considerations should deter you from such a Treason as this is; *Charls Stuart* is in Confederacy with *Spain* against *England*, he is in Confederacy with that great Popish interest. Is it imaginable that an Englishman, that a Protestant should assist such a Confederacy as this is; yet that which is not imaginable in it self, is here clearly and evidently proved before us.

Sir *H. Slingsby*, There are three witnesses, Major *Waterhouse*, Capt. *Overton*, and Lieut. *Thompson*; two of them full in evidence as to every Charge against you, and three of them as to some of the Charges; and besides your own Confession at the Bar full in proof against you. Did it not clearly appear in proof before us, that you promoted *C. Stuart* to be King of *England?* Did it not clearly appear before us, that you endeavoured to betray the Garrison of *Hull* to *C. Stuart?* Did it not likewise clearly appear before us, that you endeavoured to withdraw the Officers and some of the Soldiers of that Garrison from their obedience to his Highness, and to make a mutiny in that Garrison; and all the circumstances did clearly appear? Was it not proved before us, that you offered a Commission to Major *Waterhouse*, and promised him a Commission in the first place, and a second to Capt. *Overton*, and a Deputation to the third? And what you promised, did you not make it good? Did you not with your own hand offer a Commission sealed, and said it was from *C. S.* And did you not only encourage him, by telling him that he was coming into

England with a considerable Force; but did you not promise also, that upon his landing, 5000*l.* should be paid to Maj. *Waterhouse?* All these things were clearly proved before us.

Sir, What said you to this Proof? You confessed upon the matter all, in effect all; but only some things you said by way of excuse, and I shall truly relate them all. All you did, you told us was but in Jest. What (Sir) if those discontented English that complied with *Spain* in Q. *Eliz.* days in 88. had said they had been in Jest; what would you have thought of that, Sir? What if those Jesuited Papists that would have blown up the Parliament-house upon the 5. of *Novemb.* with Barrels of Gunpowder, had said that they had brought in those Barrels in Jest; what would you have thought of it? Sir, be not deceived; As a man sows, so shall he reap: You have sowed Treason and Rebellion, and you are now come to reap the fruit of it.

And Sir, you told me you did not own the Government, you were a Prisoner and therefore could not be bound by the Laws of that Government. Sir, doth not every Englishman owe a natural Allegiance to the supreme Magistrate of England? Is not every Englishman, whether in Prison, or out of Prison, bound by the Laws of England? Sir, if you own not the Government of England, that is an offence in it self, a great offence, and would you make an offence against the Government to be an excuse, or justification for Treason?

The last thing you said was this, you told us you were Trepan'd into it, Sir, did not you your self, of your self promise a Commission to Major Waterhouse, did you not of your self offer 5000 pound to be paid assoon as *C. S.* Landed upon English ground. I shall name those worthy

Gentlemen for honors sake to them, that had a Hand in this Discovery. It was that prudent and faithful Governour of Hull, Colonel Smith, that had a Hand in it. There was those worthy and faithfull Commanders, who were here in Court, Maj. Waterhouse, Capt. Overton, and Lievt. Thompson. Sir, these faithfull and worthy Gentlemen have carried themselves in this business, like the man of understanding, that Solomon speaks of.

I have done, only I would say one word to you, because I hear you are a Protestant, I would only ask you this question, what think you, would have become of the Protestant Interest, of the Protestants of *England, Scotland,* and *Ireland;* If you had had your will, if *Charls Stuart* had come in; if you had but time (but the Lord knows you have not time) to look over the Records of England, to look over the Declarations of Parliament since 1640. if you could remember it Sir, it would tell you what Family it was that betrayed the Protestants in France, when Rochel was taken; what Family it was that betrayed the Protestants in Germany, and in the Palatinate, when a peace was made with Spain without consent of Parliament. What could you think of that Family that did tolerate Popery for a match with Spain? What then would that Family have done, if it could have gained them *England, Scotland, & Ireland?*

And now Sir, but one word more to you as you are an English-man: I beseech you consider what would have become of this Nation, if you had had your will; you had brought a new Civil war upon *England* at the least. I cannot think of a New Civil war upon *England,* but I think of desolation upon desolation to this poor Nation, &c.

And now let me add this word to those two Gentlemen.

Sirs, when I have done speaking, I shall never have done praying for you, as long as you are alive; that is the last thing I must say to you: And now let the Judgment of the Court be read.

Thereupon the Clerk read the Judgment and Sentence of the Court against Sir *H. Slingsby* Kt. which was as followeth.

That the said Sir Henry Slingsby *as a false Traytor to his said Highness the Lord Protector, and this Commonwealth, shall be conveyed back again to the Tower of* London, *and from thence through the middle of the City of* London, *directly shall be drawn unto the Gallows of* Tibourn, *and upon the said Gallows there shall be hanged, and being alive, shall be cut down to the ground, and his Entrails taken out of his Belly, and, he living, be burnt before him; and that his Head shall be cut off, and that his Body shall be divided into four Quarters, &c.*

Proclamation being made, the Court adjourned back to the Painted Chamber, where they ordered the execution of the Sentence upon Sir *Henry Slingsby* and Dr. *Hewet*, to be on Saturday next. And Warrants are issued out to the Sheriffs of *London* to see execution done accordingly.

Then the Court adjourned it self till Thursday the Tenth instant.

Notwithstanding the former Sentence passed by the High Court, yet his Highness being informed, that Dr. *Hewet*, prisoner in the Tower of *London*, who stand attainted of High Treason, before the Commissioners appointed by Act of Parliament, for levying War against his Highness and the Commonwealth, had Judgment to be hanged, drawn and quartered at *Tibourn* this instant Saturday, His Highness was graciously pleased, upon humble suit made,

to reprieve him till Tuesday the eighth instant, at which time he is to be executed on Tower-hil, by severing his Head from his Body; and His Highness pleasure is, that the Judgment shall be remitted.

The like favor also was extended to Sir *Henry Slingsby*, who is to suffer the same day, in the same place.

The manner of the Execution of Sir HENRY SLINGSBY *on Tuesday the* 8. *of* June, 1658. *With the substance of his* SPEECH *before his Death.*

ABOUT Eleven of the clock Sir *Henry Slingsby* was brought from the Tower to the Scaffold on Tower-Hill; whither being come, hee fell upon his knees, and for a short space prayed privately.

Then standing up, he did in a short Speech, and with a very low voice address himself to that noble Gentleman Mr. Sheriff *Robinson*, telling him that what he had to say he would speak to him; which was to this purpose:

That he had received a sentence to die, upon account of his endeavouring to betray the Garrison of Hull: *But said, All that he did in that business he was drawn into by others.*

That the Officers of that Garrison did believe he had some greater Designe in hand, and therefore they would needs pump him to the bottome: But what he spoke to them in private was brought into evidence against him: He likewise said, That he did no more than any person would have done that was so brought on.

That he had made many applications (by his Friends) for a Reprieve, but found his Highness was inexorable.

He did confess that he did deliver a Commission (as it was charged against him:) But said, that it was an old Commission, and what he meant was well known to himself; but what construction others had made of it might appear by his present condition.

He discovered little sense of sorrow, or fear of Death; but said, *He was ready to submit*, or words to like purpose.

Then he addressed himself to private prayer again; and kneeling down to the Block he prayed privately for a short space: Then laid his head upon the Block, and at the signe given, the Executioner severed his Head from his Body at one Blow: And his Friends put his body into a Coffin, and removed it into a close Coach, prepared near the place.*

* "Sir Harry Slingsby, as is said before, was in the first rank of the gentlemen of Yorkshire; and was returned to serve as a member in the Parliament that continued so many years; where he sat till the troubles begun; and having no relation to or dependence upon the Court, he was swayed only by his conscience to detest the violent and undutiful behaviour of that Parliament. He was a gentleman of a good understanding, but of a very melancholic nature, and of very few words: and when he could stay no longer with a good conscience in their counsels, in which he never concurred, he went into his country, and joined with the first who took up arms for the King. And when the war was ended, he remained still in his own house, prepared and disposed to run the fortune of the Crown in any other attempt: and having a good fortune and a general reputation, had a greater influence upon the people, than they who talked more and louder; and was known to be irreconcileable to the new government; and therefore was cut off, notwithstanding very great intercession to preserve him. For he was uncle to the Lord Falconbridge; who engaged his wife and all his new allies to intercede for him, without effect. When he was brought to die, he spent very little time in discourse; but told them, 'he was to die for being an honest man, of which he was very glad.'" Clarendon, 1706, vol. vi. book xv. p. 623.

Digitized with financial assistance from
Shri Brihad Bhartiya Samaj
on 20 February, 2020